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ABSTRACT

This hearing focuses on the evaluation of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Specifically, the subcommittee was interested in measuring whether significant taxpayer investment has been effective in accomplishing the objectives of the campaign-- reaching the target audience, changing young people's attitudes about drugs, encouraging parents to talk to their children about drugs, and actual drug use by youth. Additionally, the hearing sought to address both the progress that has been made as well as areas of concern that are still present. The subcommittee wished to look into various discrepancies relating to the national media campaign, including the program's effectiveness and controversies surrounding the conduct of the White House anti-drug media campaign. Witnesses included Daniel Forbes, freelance journalist, Salon.com; David Maklan, vice president, Westat, Inc.; Robert Hornki, professor, Annenberg School for Communication; Renee Jones, program director, Academy for Boys; Kevin Evans, young person; Ibn Muhammad, young person; Kati Stephenson, young person; Barry R. McCaffrey, Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy. Includes letters and statements submitted for the record. (GCP)

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ED 467 107

Effectiveness of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

Hearing before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and the Human Resources of the Committee on Government Reform

House of Representatives
106th Congress
First Session

July 11, 2000

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EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY, AND HUMAN RESOURCES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

JULY 11, 2000

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CONTENTS

	Page
Hearing held on July 11, 2000	1
Statement of:	
Forbes, Daniel, freelance journalist, Salon.com; David Maklan, vice president, Westat, Inc.; and Robert Hornik, professor, Annenberg School for Communication	78
Jones, Renee, program director, Academy for Boys; Kevin, young person, Maryland; Ibn Muhammad, young person, Maryland; and Kati Stephenson, young person, Orlando, FL	122
McCaffrey, Barry R., Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy	13
Letters, statements, etc., submitted for the record by:	
Evans, Kevin, young person, Maryland, prepared statement of	132
Forbes, Daniel, freelance journalist, Salon.com, prepared statement of	84
Jones, Renee, program director, Academy for Boys, prepared statement of	126
Maklan, David, vice president, Westat, Inc., prepared statement of	97
McCaffrey, Barry R., Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy:	
Briefing charts	14
Prepared statement of	32
Mica, Hon. John L., a Representative in Congress from the State of Florida, prepared statement of	6
Muhammad, Ibn, young person, Maryland, prepared statement of	136

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

TUESDAY, JULY 11, 2000

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY,
AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:18 a.m., in room 2247, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. John L. Mica (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Mica, Gilman, Cummings, Tierney, Mink, Schakowsky, Souder, Hutchinson, and Barr.

Staff present: Sharon Pinkerton, staff director and chief counsel; Charley Diaz, congressional fellow; Ryan McKee, clerk; and Jason Snyder, Kelly Bobo, and Lavron Penny, interns.

Mr. MICA. I would call this hearing of the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources to order.

This morning's hearing will focus on the subject of evaluating our National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. We have three panels today. The order of business will be first, opening statements by Members and then we will turn to our panels. First we will have Director Barry R. McCaffrey, the head of our Office of National Drug Control Policy.

We will go ahead and proceed because we do have a full morning here and we will be joined by other Members. We do have a full agenda.

I will start with my opening statement.

Today's hearing is the second in a series of oversight hearings by this subcommittee which has focused on examining our National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. At a cost of nearly $1 billion over 5 years, with another $1 billion in matching contributions, the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign is the largest government-sponsored, government-funded advertising campaign in U.S. history. As such, it is imperative that this program is administered effectively and also efficiently and, ultimately, that the campaign accomplishes its goal of reducing drug use among our young.

The Office of National Drug Control Policy is responsible for the development, implementation and evaluation of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. It is this subcommittee's responsibility to oversee their efforts. This subcommittee's investigative authority also extends to a host of other Federal departments and agencies involved in reducing illegal drug use in America.

The predecessor to the current campaign was developed and run by the Partnership for A Drug Free America from 1987 to 1997, free of charge to the taxpayers. For over a decade, the Partnership acquired donated air time from the big three television networks to disseminate anti-drug messages nationwide and ad companies donated the creative talent to develop and produce the ads. In 1991, the estimated value of these donations reached an impressive $350 million annually.

The Partnership's experience has shown that when a strong anti-drug message is communicated nationwide, and our media exposure is maximized, drug use in America drops. Based on the National Household Survey data, illicit drug use declined some 50 percent from 1985 to 1992, from about 12 percent to about 6 percent of households.

Unfortunately, due to increased competition resulting from industry deregulation in 1991, there was a dramatic decline in donated media time. During this time, I proposed to the Office of Drug Control Policy and the Federal Communications Commission that the public had a right, as owners of the public airwaves, to require a minimum level of public service announcement on the drug issue. However, a compromise was reached that Congress would fund media buys that would be matched by 100 donated broadcast time or space. That is the current situation and law that we live under, again resulting in $1 billion program with matching contributions.

The Partnership and others worked to convince Congress to appropriate Federal dollars for media buys so the anti-drug message could continue. In fiscal year 1998, Congress appropriated $195 million, $20 million over the President's request, to support the national anti-drug media campaign, $185 million in fiscal year 1999 and $185 million in fiscal year 2000.

While our first hearing on the campaign focused on the development and administration of the campaign, today's hearing will focus on the evaluation phase of the campaign. How will we measure whether our significant taxpayer investment has been effective in accomplishing the objectives of the campaign. Have we reached our target audience, have young people changed their attitudes about drugs, have parents started talking to their kids more about the dangers of drugs and ultimately, are kids using drugs less or hopefully not at all?

Today, the subcommittee will learn more about both the progress that has been made and the areas of concern that we still have.

In our last subcommittee hearing on this topic which was in October of last year, questions were raised about the need for a maze of costly contracts and subcontracts to conduct the campaign. Questions were also raised about whether enough funds were going into media buys noting that as much as $40 million was being spent on other programs.

Additional concerns were focused on the payment of Federal funds for activities that in the past had been donated or could be obtained by partnering with other agencies and organizations. Serious questions were also raised as to whether a White House office was in fact the right entity to properly administer and manage a $1 billion program, something normally done by an executive

branch department or agency with a bigger staff, more contact experience and an Inspector General's Office with established oversight procedures and safeguards.

As we now turn to evaluate the effectiveness of the campaign, we must first examine the evaluation plan which is primarily being administered by the National Institute of Drug Abuse. Taxpayers will spend $35 million of taxpayer money over 5 years to evaluate the campaign's progress. At the end of the day, we have to ask ourselves the question, what will we receive for the funds expended.

As I mentioned last October, I fully support reasonable evaluation research in this effort and I think it is necessary. However, we have already spent millions of dollars on evaluation of phases I and II of the campaign with very little to show for it.

As I understand it, because of the short duration of the first two phases, a baseline was not established so no trend data is available. Furthermore, because we now have a different contractor with a different survey method, the evaluation work in phases I and II cannot be used in phase III. That leaves us wondering what we receive for our initial millions of dollars already expended.

If we consider simply expanding existing federally sponsored research such as the project entitled, "Monitoring the Future," a project of the University of Michigan that has been tracking attitudes about illegal drug use and drug use trends for decades.

Hopefully, today's witnesses will be able to answer some of these questions. What about the campaign's effectiveness? The White House recently proclaimed a drop in teen drug use from 1997 to 1998 but in its biennial report entitled, "1999 Youth Risk Behavior Survey," the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that drug use in America has increased throughout the 1990's, including last year. In fact, I think we sat right at this table and we were briefed several weeks ago by the CDC on this new survey.

The survey found that while 14.7 percent of the students that had been surveyed said they currently used marijuana in 1991, that number almost doubled to 26.7 in 1999. The CDC also reported to our subcommittee that the lifetime marijuana use increased from 31.3 percent in 1991 to 47.2 percent in 1999 and that current cocaine use more than doubled during the same period.

These discrepancies need to be explained. We really shouldn't fool ourselves or the American public into thinking there has been short-term drop in teen drug use when in fact the opposite may be true. While I believe General McCaffrey, the head of the ONDCP has done an outstanding job in helping to get our national drug policy back on track, nonetheless it is our subcommittee's responsibility to conduct proper oversight of this most important and most expensive antimedia campaign.

Unfortunately, several other controversial practices have also raised a number of questions relating to this national media campaign that requires oversight of this subcommittee. First, in February of this year, a controversy erupted over the reported White House practice of reviewing TV scripts for anti-drug programming content prior to the airing of these shows. Cries of government interference and censorship were voiced in editorials and news broadcasts across the country. The ABC Television Network was particu-

larly vocal in their concern that this practice be halted immediately.

As reported by the New York Times on January 17, 2000, "Ms. Fili-Krushel said ABC had decided not to participate this season because the Government had asked to see the scripts before they were broadcast."

As a result of the controversy, the ONDCP was compelled to issue a White House press release which said, "New Guidelines to Clarify Pro Bono Match Component of the Anti-Drug Media Campaign," which was issued on January 18, 2000. At least one major print publication, USA Weekend Magazine for USA Today, has declined to participate further in this portion of the campaign.

In a letter to me dated May 23, 2000, president and CEO, Marcia Bullard, wrote, "I do have concerns about how the media campaign was conducted and as a result, I do not intend to continue participating in the campaign under the parameters as I current understand them."

In a second embarrassing incident, a news report surfaced 2 weeks ago that accused the White House of secretly monitoring the activities of Internet visitors to two ONDCP Web sites, freevibe.com and theantidrug.com. Visitors to these Internet sites were not notified that their activities were being monitored by the insertion of so-called cookies into their hard drives. Again, cries of Big Brother spying and invasion of privacy were heard nationwide and the practice I believe was ordered stopped by the White House chief of staff. However, damage to the program may have been done.

While I support the overall anti-drug media campaign and in particular, the concept of the media buys, I am not convinced that we should be spending taxpayer dollars on programs that are less proven and somehow detract from our ability to maximize our media buys.

Furthermore, the subcommittee has reason to be concerned about the recent national controversies surrounding the conduct of the White House anti-drug media campaign. Sometimes poor decisions and miscommunications on the part of overzealous staff and contractors have now called into question the credibility of the campaign with the very audiences that we are trying so hard to reach, namely the youth of America and their parents.

Trust is a very important and essential ingredient in any national public education campaign. We cannot afford to have kids thinking that every anti-drug message portrayed on television was planted by the government. Likewise, we cannot afford to have their parents fearing they are being spied upon every time they visit a Government Web site for information, help or assistance.

Finally, as chairman of the subcommittee, I have visited a number of communities across the country examining our national drug control efforts. In fact, we have held hearings from one end of the country to the other. We almost always have a youth panel, individuals involved in law enforcement, prevention and education. Everywhere I go I ask people if they know about the national youth anti-drug media campaign and if they have seen any of the ads or any of our effort. Unfortunately, the reactions I get at the very best are mixed. Students from hearings we have conducted in Texas,

Hawaii, Florida, Louisiana, Iowa, have raised questions about the effectiveness of these anti-drug ads.

While I realize this is only a small sampling of those who have seen the ads, clearly much more needs to be done to make certain these ads are as effective and positive as possible. I look forward to hearing from all our witnesses today as we seek to learn more about the effectiveness of this national youth anti-drug media campaign. I look forward to working with General McCaffrey and all the others in our various agencies dedicated to making this program a success.

I am pleased at this time to yield to Mr. Cummings, the gentleman from Maryland.

[The prepared statement of Hon. John L. Mica follows:]

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House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM

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OPENING STATEMENT
Chairman John L. Mica

Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources

July 11th, 2000 Hearing: Evaluating The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

Today's hearing is the second in a series of oversight hearings by this Subcommittee examining the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. At a cost of nearly $1 billion over five years, with another $1 billion in matching contributions, the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign (the Campaign) is the largest government-sponsored, government-funded advertising campaign in U.S. history. As such, it is imperative that this program is administered effectively and efficiently, and, ultimately, that the Campaign accomplishes its goal of reducing youth drug use.

The Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) is responsible for the development, implementation and evaluation of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. And it is this Subcommittee's responsibility to oversee their efforts. The Subcommittee's investigative authority also extends to a host of other federal departments and agencies involved in reducing illegal drug use in America.

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Unfortunately, due to increased competition resulting from industry deregulation in 1991, there was a dramatic decline in donated media time. During this time, I proposed to ONDCP and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) that the public had a right as owners of the public airwaves to require a minimum level of public service announcements on the drug issue. However, a compromise was reached that Congress would fund media buys that would be matched (100%) by donated broadcast time or space.

The Partnership and others worked to convince Congress to appropriate federal dollars

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for media buys so the anti-drug messages could continue. In FY-98, Congress appropriated $195 million ($20 million over the President's request) to support a national anti-drug media campaign, $185 million in FY-1999 and another $185 million in FY-2000.

While our first hearing on the Campaign focused on the development and administration of the Campaign, today's hearing will focus on the evaluation phase of the Campaign. How will we measure whether our significant taxpayer investment has been effective in accomplishing the objectives of the campaign? Have we reached our target audience? Have young people changed their attitudes about drugs? Have parents started talking to their kids more about the dangers of drugs? And, ultimately, are kids using drugs less or hopefully not at all. Today, the Subcommittee will learn more about both the progress that has been made and the areas of concern.

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Additional concerns were focused on the payment of federal funds for activities that, in the past, had been donated or could be obtained by partnering with other agencies and organizations. Serious questions were also raised as to whether a White House office was the right entity to properly administer and manage a $1 billion program, something normally done by an Executive Branch department or agency with a bigger staff, more contracting experience and an inspector general's office with established oversight procedures and safeguards.

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Furthermore, because we now have a different contractor with different survey methods, the evaluation work in phases I and II cannot be used in phase III. So that leaves us wondering what we received for our initial millions of dollars already expended.

Did we consider simply expanding existing federally sponsored research such as the "Monitoring the Future" project at the University of Michigan that has been tracking attitudes about illegal drug use and drug use trends for decades? Hopefully today's witnesses will be able to answer these questions.

And what about the campaign's effectiveness? The White House recently has proclaimed a drop in teen drug use from 1997-1998, but in its biennial report entitled "1999 Youth Risk Behavior Survey," the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that drug use in America has in fact increased throughout the 1990's, including last year. The survey revealed that while 14.7% of students surveyed said they currently used marijuana in 1991, that number steadily rose to 26.7% in 1999. CDC also reported that "lifetime" marijuana use increased from 31.3% in 1991 to 47.2% in 1999 and that current cocaine use more than doubled during the same period.

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questions relating to this program that requires oversight of this Subcommittee.

First, in February of this year a controversy erupted over the reported White House practice of reviewing TV scripts for anti-drug programming content prior to the airing of the shows. Cries of government interference and censorship were voiced in editorials and news broadcasts across this country. The ABC television network was particularly vocal in their concern that this practice be halted immediately. As reported by The New York Times on January 17th of this year, "Ms. Fili-Krushel said ABC had decided not to participate this season because the government had asked to see scripts before they were broadcast."

As a result of the controversy, the ONDCP was compelled to issue a White House Press Release: "New Guidelines to Clarify Pro Bono Match Component of the Anti-Drug Media Campaign" on January 18, 2000. And at least one major print publication, the USA Weekend magazine for the USA Today has declined to participate further in this portion of the campaign. In a letter to me dated May 23, 2000 President and CEO, Marcia Bullard, writes, "I do have concerns about how the media campaign was conducted. And as a result, no, I do not intend to continue participating in the campaign under the parameters as I currently understand them."

In a second embarrassing incident, news reports surfaced two weeks ago that accused the White House of secretly monitoring the activities of Internet visitors to two ONDCP web sites: freevibe.com and theantidrug.com. Visitors to these Internet sites were not notified that their activities were being monitored by the insertion of so-called "cookies" onto their hard drives. Again cries of Big Brother spying and invasion of privacy were heard nationwide, and the practice was ordered stopped by the White House Chief of Staff. However, damage to the program may have been done.

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Trust is an essential element of any national public education campaign. We cannot afford to have kids thinking that every anti-drug message portrayed on TV was planted by the government. Likewise, we cannot afford to have their parents fearing that they are being spied upon every time they visit a government web site for information or help.

Finally, as chairman of this Subcommittee I have visited a number of communities across the country examining our national drug control efforts. Everywhere I go, I ask people if they know about the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and have seen any of the ads. Unfortunately, the reactions I get are, at best, mixed.

Students from hearings we have conducted in Hawaii, Texas, Florida and Louisiana have raised questions about the effectiveness of these anti-drug ads. While I realize this is just a small sampling of those who have seen these ads, clearly much more needs to be done to make sure these ads are as effective and positive as possible.

I look forward to hearing from all of our witnesses today as we seek to learn more about the effectiveness of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and continue to work toward protecting our nation's youth from the terrible scourge of illegal drugs.

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Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I do thank you for calling this hearing. I would also like to thank General McCaffrey for his strong leadership and cooperation with Congress in fighting this war against drugs.

In particular, he has worked with me on several occasions and has even come to my district on numerous occasions to discuss constituent concerns and to hear from youth in Baltimore.

I must tell you, Mr. Chairman, as I listened to your opening statement I had my own concerns and I want to just express them here and now.

One of the things I have noticed since I came to Congress is that I remember my first hearing with General McCaffrey where he was coming under attack from every direction. It seemed he couldn't do anything right. I wasn't attacking him because I didn't know him but the other side was.

For some reason, we constantly told him whatever we do, and I think we all agreed on this one point, we want tax dollars to be spent in an effective and efficient manner. We said to him, you are the boss; we want you to look at everything you are doing and try to make sure we reduce this drug situation. As a matter of fact, I remember one hearing where he had some goals and on the other side, you all were trying to get him to up the goals to make them almost unreachable.

The issue with ABC brought me to say what I just said. On the one hand we say, we want you to spend these tax dollars effectively and efficiently, and we want you to watch everything that goes on, to be careful, work with private industry and I have also heard the criticism in a hearing not too long ago that when we get these donations from the networks, there was a question raised as to whether we were truly getting what we thought we were getting in that we were looking at the programming and said, is having a drug message in a program as effective as having commercials.

I am one who is always concerned about Big Brother looking over our shoulders, but I must say to you that I think General McCaffrey has been sent all kinds of messages from this Congress and I think it becomes difficult sometimes to figure out exactly what to do and how to do it. Under all of those circumstances, I think he has done a good job.

One of the things I was concerned about early on was a report issued that said, even after this campaign had started, while White teen drug usage was going down, drug usage in African Americans and Latinos, if I remember correctly, was going up.

To General McCaffrey's credit, I called him and said, I read this report, I do not like this and I want it going down for everybody. He immediately dispensed a team to Baltimore and they literally sat down with I guess 150 teenagers from schools throughout the city. He brought in the media experts, his staff and spent literally 4 or 5 hours with these young people reviewing the ads and giving their advice with regard to those ads.

I know we have traveled throughout the country but in my district, young people face drugs being pushed at them every day. Some of them when they go to school, they have to go through people who are pushing drugs. That is an everyday occurrence. These are children that go to funerals three, four or five times a year be-

cause someone has been killed due to drug violence. So they see life in the raw.

Most of those children, that 150, I would say 90 percent of them said they were familiar with the campaign and the ads did affect them. This was the issue, Mr. Chairman. When they looked at the ads, there were three ads they liked, that they felt really hit them hard.

The most popular ad was Lauren Hill and 95 percent of the kids who had seen ads and said they were affected were affected by Lauren Hill. I don't know if you are familiar with Lauren Hill.

Mr. MICA. I have never heard of her.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I wasn't familiar with Garth Brooks but now I am but Lauren Hill is a young women about 22 or 23 years old who is an unwed mother, who had a difficult life coming up—I think she came up in the projects—and she turned her life around. In her songs, she talks about the difficulties that she has come through.

I asked the young people, why is it that her ad affects you so much and they said, because we think she understands what we go through. That was a consistent message over and over. We believe, because she has experienced what we have experienced, that is why the message affects us.

The second most popular ad was one with Serena and Venus Williams. They said this was less effective. Why? Because these girls have had a nicer life and have not gone through the difficulty.

The last one, which was very interesting, was the frying pan ad where the lady slams the egg and all that stuff but to his credit, and this is the point I am trying to make, he came and spent 4 or 5 hours with some teenagers and had his media experts go through those ads and they left with the commitment that they could see where our young people were coming from, that they would go back to the drawing board and look at how those ads were being put out and whether they needed to find some more Lauren Hills and people like that.

Simply put, I know we will give General McCaffrey an opportunity to say what he has to say but from what I have seen, I think there has been a genuine effort by this General and his staff to do the right thing. If something fell by the wayside, things can happen, as you know, and when you have a Congress of 435 people yelling at you and 100 Senators yelling at you, telling you what to do and how to do it, and then try to balance all of that with reports coming out almost every month, I think it can get rather difficult.

General, I think the chairman has raised some very good questions and I think they are reasonable questions, but I also know something else. Every time questions have been raised in the past, you had a reasonable answer. I just want to make sure we understand what you are dealing with.

Last but not least, I leave you with this simple statement. You need to continuously let us know how we can help you help our children and help our society so those tax dollars the chairman speaks about, are spent in an efficient and effective manner.

Thank you.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentleman from Maryland.

I am pleased to yield now to the gentleman from New York, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to welcome General McCaffrey before us this morning.

I want to thank my colleague from Baltimore for his good words this morning.

I think it is important you are holding this hearing today to evaluate the progress of our national youth anti-drug media campaign. We look forward to today's testimony. We hope our panelists have some positive words for us and the subject matter has had far too much negative news throughout the Nation.

The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign does serve as a vital component of a key pillar in our war on drugs, prevention and education. For years, we have heard from the source countries that America needs to do its part in reducing demand. Of course we must not neglect the reduction of supply just as we try to reduce demand. They have to be done simultaneously.

We need to do our part in drug education and prevention programs that can play a key role in meeting our goals. The idea for a national media campaign, as we know, was born during the Reagan administration which was fighting at that time a wave of drug use and abuse among our adolescents and an unforgivably tolerant attitude toward drug use from the entertainment industry, an industry we would hope would come on board and do a lot more than they have.

The resulting creation of the Partnership for a Drug Free America in 1987 helped to usher in a longstanding series of anti-drug ads which did prove to be of some effect at no cost to the taxpayer. That, in part, helped lead to a steady decline in adolescent drug use from 1987 until 1993.

The drug environment facing today's teenagers has changed drastically from that of a decade ago. Regrettably, drugs today are cheaper, of higher purity, more readily available than ever before. Furthermore, unlike a decade ago, the media does not emphatically communicate the dangers of drug use, that drugs are not recreational, that drug substance abuse is deadly and can ruin and affect their lives.

Instead, more emphasis is being placed on efforts by the pro-legalization groups to decriminalize drug use through their campaigns of disinformation and focus on medical benefits of drug use. Moreover, in doing that, the national media does not even pretend to present a balanced story. The bulk of its sympathy seems to lie with the pro-legalization people. That situation presents a greater challenge to the organizers of the national youth anti-drug media campaign than that faced by their predecessors. They are fighting an uphill battle, but it is a battle we cannot afford to lose. Far too much attention is being given today to creating a culture of tolerance for drug use. We have seen what that culture of tolerance can do in some of our foreign nations.

More emphasis is needed to convey the point that the road to hell is paved with good intentions and that this culture of tolerance is sowing the wrong seeds, the seeds for greater social problems down the road.

We all recognize that drug use is not glamorous and is full of false promises that can only lead to self destruction. Routine drug use eventually leads to addiction which destroys families, shatters

lives and leaves a landscape of wasted resources and unrealized potential behind.

The proponents of legalization have been focusing on their goal, however misguided and self-serving that may be. We need to be equally committed to our goal of prevention, of preventing the youth of today from selling out their futures for a lifetime of substance addiction. For that, we need an effective means of communication of which a key component is our national youth anti-drug media campaign.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for arranging this hearing. I think it is very timely. We look forward to hearing today's testimony. Again, we welcome General McCaffrey our leading witness.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentleman from New York.

I am pleased to recognize now, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Tierney.

Mr. TIERNEY. I have very short remarks.

I want to thank General McCaffrey for joining us today. I look forward to hearing his comments.

I think we have been on a path of ignorance for a long time and I think of late, we have come to a situation where we understand education and information and preventive aspects are a part that we have to really pay attention to. I want to hear what it is you have to say and your efforts there, General McCaffrey.

Again, thank you for coming.

Mr. MICA. There being no further opening statements, we will proceed to our first panel. Our first panel consists of: the Director of our Office of National Drug Control Policy, Barry R. McCaffrey. As you know, General, the purpose of our subcommittee is, first of all, one of oversight and investigation and in that regard, we do swear all our witnesses, so if you would please stand to be sworn and raise your right hands.

[Witness sworn.]

Mr. MICA. The witness answered in the affirmative. Again, welcome, Director McCaffrey, back to our subcommittee. As you know, we do have investigations and oversight responsibility and we also try to coordinate our national effort and our national policy on drug use and abuse. We have tried to work with you as best we can on making certain this program, a very extensive national program, is a success.

If you will bear with me a second, we have been joined by our ranking member, Mrs. Mink. I tell you I had no greater appreciation for Mrs. Mink than when I went out to do a hearing in her district in Hawaii and I am sure everyone thought I would be out at the beach watching the string bikinis and all of that, but I actually arrived early on a Saturday night, early Sunday morning, was greeted by Mrs. Mink that Sunday morning after recovery and recuperation and we went immediately to the Honolulu police station. We spent the afternoon in a weed and seed program and then she took me to the State prison where we met with the drug offenders, through the evening a working dinner and the next morning a long hearing. Then she ended with having me attend on Monday afternoon the drug court and then fly all night through Atlanta and back to Washington. I know what she goes through, the flight

is just unbelievable. I don't know how she does it and she came in last night. So welcome back.

People don't realize what Members of Congress go through. I did it just once to attend and participate in a hearing in her district, but I certainly admire her. I am pleased to welcome her even though a few minutes late. I admire her leadership on this issue.

Before we recognize you, General, let me recognize our ranking member.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

If you had all that sympathy for my travel agonies, you would have scheduled this meeting at 10 a.m. rather than 9 a.m.

That is all I have to say. Thank you very much.

Mr. MICA. We do have a full hearing of three panels this morning, so we did get an East Coast start. Again, thank you so much.

General, I apologize for the interruptions. We have been joined by another Member but we will proceed at this time with your testimony. Thank you for your patience and your leadership. You are recognized.

STATEMENT OF BARRY R. MCCAFFREY, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Mr. Chairman, to you and the members of the committee, I thank you again for the opportunity to come down here and lay out our thinking and probably more importantly, to hear your viewpoints and to respond to your interests.

With your permission, if I may suggest, I will enter into the record three things; one, a statement that we put enormous efforts into to try, to bring together in one document, cleared by the administration, the numbers, and the assertions upon which this debate can be better informed. I offer that for your consideration.

Also, I would offer copies of the briefing charts that I will walk through briefly to try to capture the seven major points I will make in my opening statement.

Then, finally, I think this has more value than anything else, are some letters from constituent organizations who have shaped and informed my thinking.

Mr. MICA. Without objection, the documents referred to will be included in the record and so ordered.

[The information referred to follows:]

Congressional Guidance on ONDCP Media Campaign

P.L. 105-277 (Oct 21, 1998) directed that ONDCP funds in support of a national media campaign be used for:

- Purchase of media time and space
- Testing & evaluation of ads and entire campaign
- Entertainment industry collaborations
- Interactive media activities
- Public information
- Corporate sponsorship
- Partnership and alliance with organizations

ONDCP 7/11/00

National Drug Control Strategy Goals

1: **Educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs as well as alcohol and tobacco.**

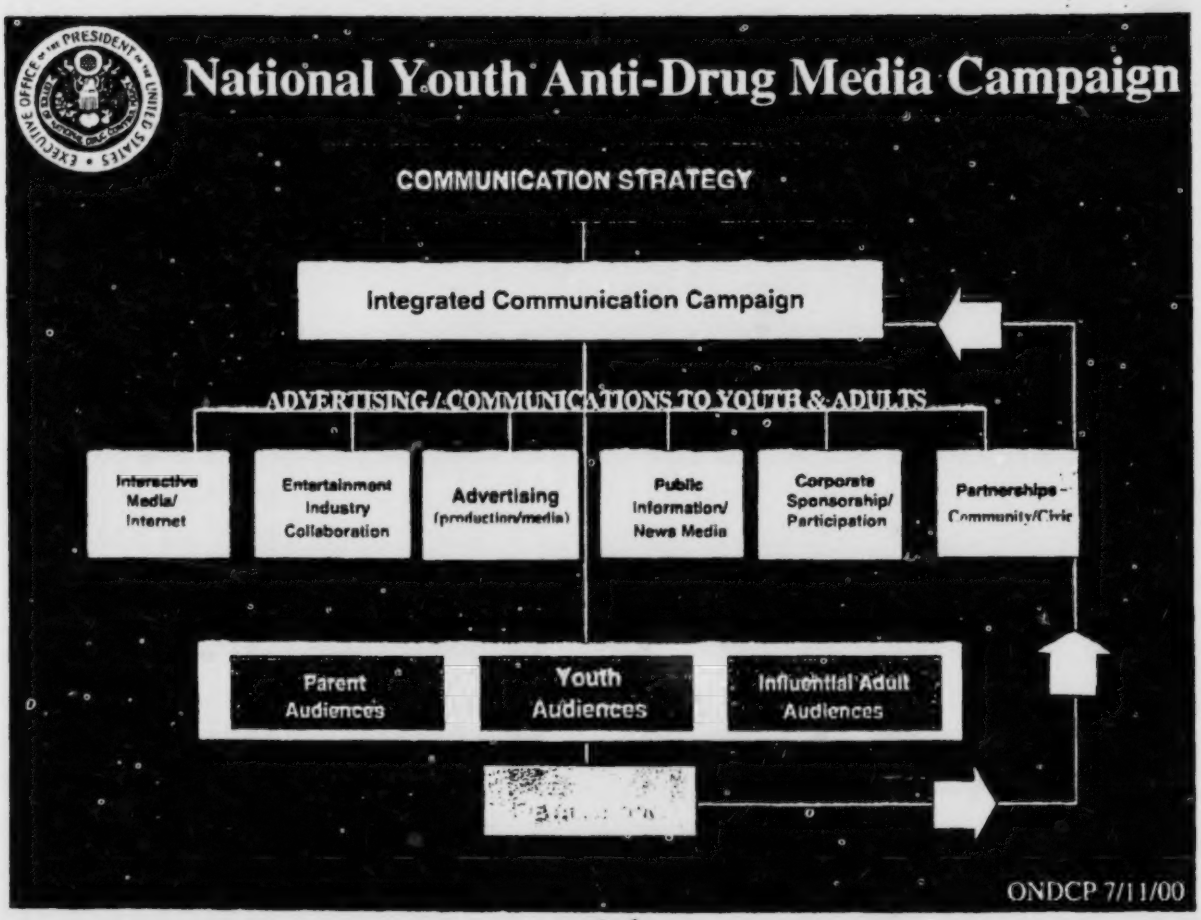
2: **Increase the safety of America's citizens by substantially reducing drug-related crime and violence.**

3: **Reduce health and social costs to the public of illegal drug use.**

4: **Shield America's air, land, and sea frontiers from the drug threat.**

5: **Break foreign and domestic drug sources of supply.**

ONDCP, July 11, 2000



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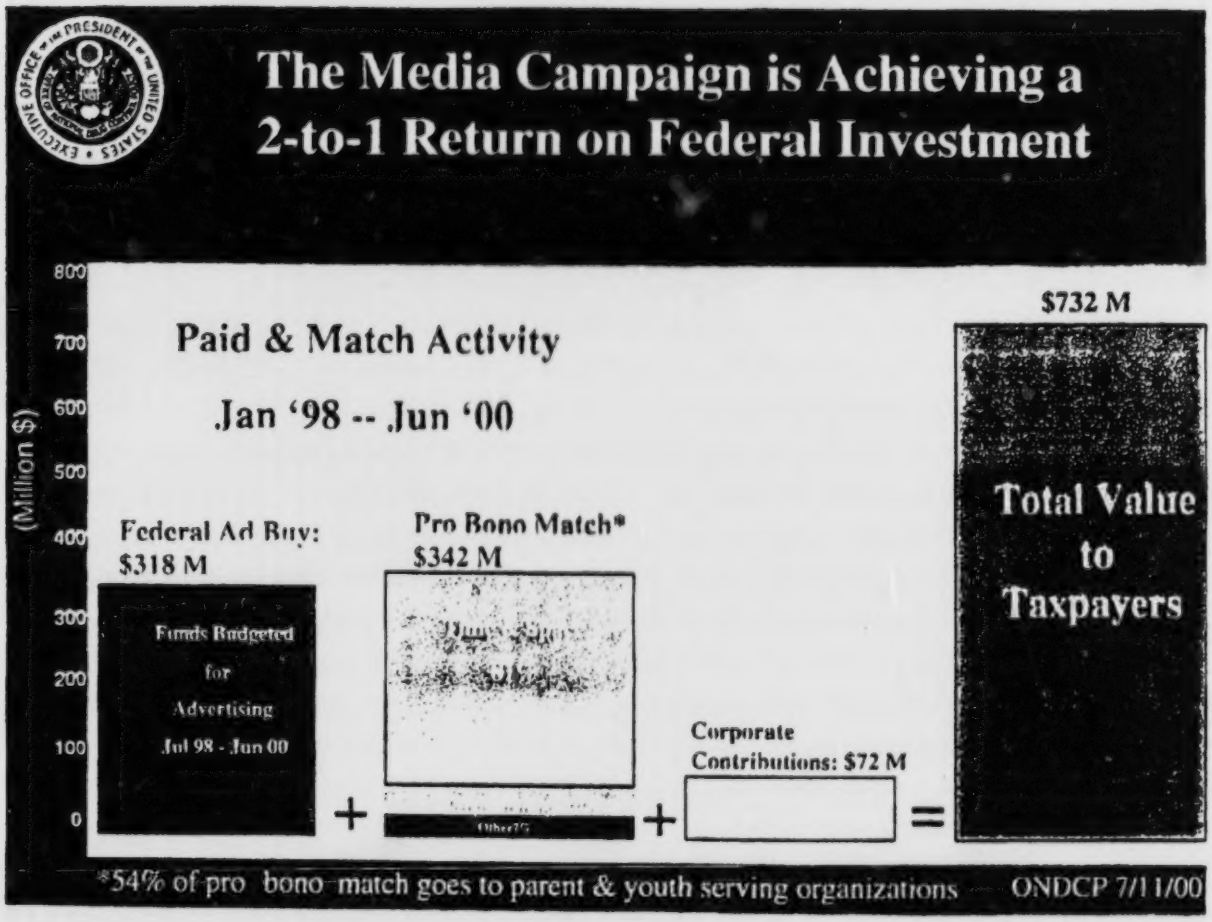

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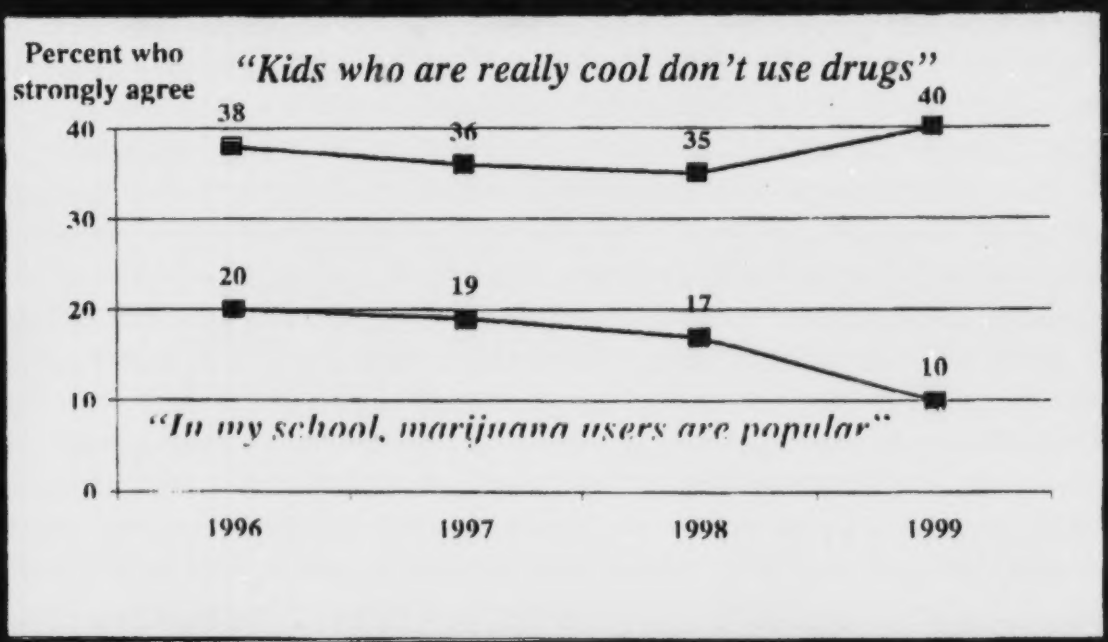
Guidelines for Pro Bono Match

- Programs/content have been broadcast or published.
- ONDCP exercises review authority thru contractor.
- No credit for news or editorials.
- No involvement with creative process.

ONDCP 7/11/00

Young people's Attitudes on Drugs are Strengthening



Source: 1999 Partnership Attitude Tracking Study

ONDCP 7/11/00

Indicators of Success

- Total Pro-Bono match contributions equal 107% of federal ad buy.
- Since launching in March 1999, Freevibe.com has received over 1.8 million page views. Average visit is 7.46 minutes.
- Television programs with anti-drug messages have resulted in over 100 million teen impressions and 250 million adult impressions.
- In 1999, 63% of teens reported parents were discussing the risks of drug use, up from 53% in 1998 (Source: CASA).

ONDCP 7/11/00

We're Helping Good Causes

- National Fatherhood Initiative
  - 384% increase in media exposure.
- KidsPeace (TeenCentral.net)
  - Web hits 1st Qtr '00 exceeded total hits in 1999.
- National 4-H Council
  - 20% increase in volunteerism in 1999.
- Crime Prevention Council
  - Received $18 M in TV/radio exposure thru Pro Bono match.
- America's Promise
  - Website hits increased 122% from '98 to '99.

ONDCP 7/11/00

Indicators of Success

•Past-month drug use by 12-17 year olds declined 13% between 1997-1998.

- **Inhalant use down 45%.**
- **Cocaine use down 20%.**
- **Marijuana use down 12%.**

Source: SAMHSA 1998 National Household Survey

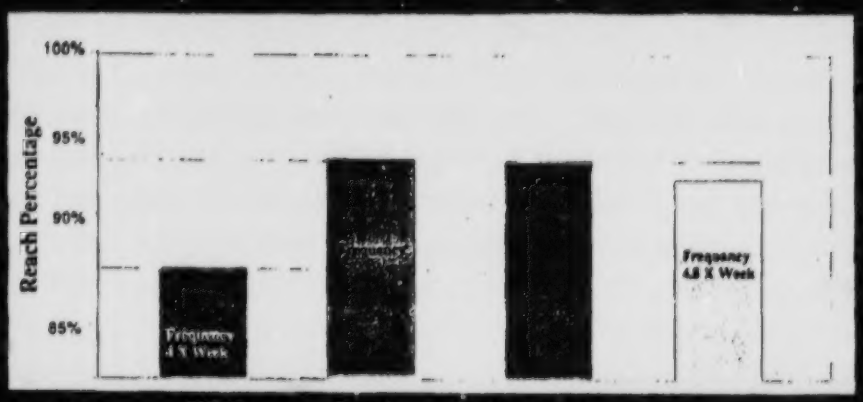
ONDCP 7/11/00

Cookies: The Reality

- Media Campaign websites have not and are not collecting personal information.
- ONDCP websites collect only:
  * Internet domain name and IP address
  * Browser type and operating system
  * Date and time of access
  * Pages visited
  * Address of the web site you linked from, if any.

ONDCP 7/11/00

We are Exceeding Reach and Frequency Goals



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THESE ADS WORK

Scientific testing shows ONDCP's ads are effective in reaching children.

"Frying Pan"

After viewing, 56.5% more teens strongly agreed they were less likely to try or use drugs

"Alex-Straight As"

After viewing, 58.3% more teens strongly agreed they were less likely to try or use drugs

"Rite of Passage"

After viewing, 60 % more teens strongly agreed they were less likely to try or use drugs

ONDCP, 7/11/00

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Gen. MCCAFFREY. Let me begin by recognizing some of the attentive constituencies who are here. First of all, most importantly, the Executive Director of the Partnership for Drug Free America, Dick Bonnette. As you know, they have been really the other pillar in shaping this entire campaign. They bring to bear 10 years of experience. I also wish to thank Jim Burke, their chairman, and Dick Bonnette for their leadership.

Art Dean is here, the CEO of Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America. During his short tenure of a bit more than a year, we have increased anti-drug coalitions from some 4,000 to some 5,000. We are moving in the right direction and that is with very modest Federal dollars involved in this program. Some 400 community coalitions by the end of this year will have received startup moneys.

We also have present Wally Schneider, the president of the American Advertising Federation. We are very proud that we have both Shona Seifert from Ogilvy and Mather and Harry Fraizier from Fleishman Hillard. Arguably these are two of the most sophisticated and competent organizations. Ogilvy Mather does our media buying, does the heavy lifting, handles most of the money and Fleishman Hillard is doing our outreach, integrated strategy, Internet operations, and so forth.

We also have the Ad Council's two vice presidents, Donna Feiner and Dianna Ciachetti and Dr. Linda Wolf Jones of Therapeutic Communities of America. As you know, our purpose in this entire prevention campaign is, in the coming 10 years, to reduce the 5 million chronic addicts who are causing $110 billion in damage in this country each year and some 52,000 dead. We thank Dr. Jones for her leadership.

Allen Moghul is here from NASADAD and Robbie Calloway from Boys and Girls Clubs. If you want to look for a model on drug prevention programs, it is the Boys and Girls Clubs. Also with us is Beth Walkinghorse from the YMCA. All of these are pretty good examples of how to go about keeping kids engaged with mentoring activities.

Finally, we have Jessica Hulsey here from the Drug Free Communities Advisory Commission. They have been a huge help to me.

Let me quickly put in front of your committee the key documents that are the basis upon which this discussion has to proceed. The most important one is the law. When people ask me what I am doing on the media campaign, I was told by Congress what my purpose would be and given some pretty sensible parameters to go about it. I would ask you to take that into account as we proceed in this discussion.

We also wrote, with the help of contractors, a communications strategy, "The Burgundy Bible." This is the basis upon which the media campaign in its entirety has proceeded; it is a pretty sound piece of work. We will obviously revise it over the coming years as the environment changes.

It is also important, particularly in this hearing where you are going to get some valuable anecdotal insight from some young people, to note in passing that they are not in the target range of the media campaign. They are older than the prime focus of the campaign.

This is the phase I of evaluation. We went to 12 cities and got 12 control cities and began with the off-the-shelf advertising material from PDFA, we paid a considerable about of money to have some very clever people watch that baseline develop. I think a tremendous amount came out of it. Thank God we started small and walked before we ran. I commend the phase I of evaluation to your attention.

In phase II, we went national. We went national mostly with existing material but we again had some very sophisticated people try and get an evaluation of whether the ads were being seen, were they found to be credible, did they begin to shape attitudes. It was backed up not just by baseline data—by the way, it was all collected in schools, so it has a different look, a more narrow look than phase III. This is the outcome, which we have provided to Congress, and it is extremely encouraging. I will put up one chart to that effect.

Finally, if I may release to the committee today, the phase III evaluation design. We have now got I think one of the most respected institutions in science in America, part of the NIH, the National Institute of Drug Abuse, headed by Dr. Alan Leshner, which has provided through Westat Corp. and other subcontractors—the Annenberg School of Journalism, and you will have testimony on panel II from two of their scientists. This is their phase III design. They are going to answer four questions. The first data from phase III I will give you prior to September, I hope. In March we will have the first real insights on how the campaign is evolving and shaping youth attitudes, but over time, I think the money we are spending on this evaluation is going to provide profound insights that help us shape the evolving campaign.

If I may, let me put those in front of your committee to make sure we don't miss the rather obvious statement, that this is not a seat of the pants operation. This is one of the most complex, science-based and fully evaluated public health campaigns in history.

It is probably premature for me to make much of this yet, but the General Accounting Office has done an in-depth study of the media campaign. We have commented on their report. It has not yet been formally presented to the Congress. We are extremely proud of the professionalism and the blow torch of detail that GAO brought to bear on this program.

I would be prepared to discuss their emerging insights. I think it is extremely favorable, not surprisingly from the way we are going about our business.

Let me run through seven slides very quickly. The first is to underscore, when we get in these discussions why we are doing the following things. Let me start with the law, if I may. Why are we doing various things? We are buying media space and time, we are testing and evaluating, we are going to the entertainment industry for collaborations all because it is in the law. We are doing interactive media activities.

Our children are on the Web. The eighth graders are on the Web more than the 12th graders. For the first time in our history, we now have more families with children 17 or younger who have

Internet addresses than newspaper subscriptions. That is why we are in that part of the media.

We are doing public information; we have submitted our corporate sponsorship plan and we are clearly involved in partnership and alliance with the major organizations that make America work. We are heavily involved with the Rotary Club, Kiwanis, 100 Black Men, you name it, 41 civic associations have come together to stand with us on this issue.

The strategy says we have 5 goals, with 31 objectives. As you know, we have designed the campaign in accordance with the law, and performance measures of effectiveness so that we can measure what we are doing with the money you give us. The most important of any of these goals is goal 1. As you look at it, it goes right to the heart of it. It says, "Focus on 56 million American children and motivate them, shape their attitudes, primarily between the 6th and 12th grades to reject illegal drug use as well as alcohol and tobacco." That is what we are up to in the media campaign.

I would argue this campaign, in many ways, relates to most of the other prevention and education activities we have going on. That is why Art Dean of the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions so strongly support this, because the media campaign builds community support for local coalitions.

Here is the shape of it, the six major components. Again, it is important for me to stress this isn't a TV ad buy. This isn't a radio spot market ad buy. It is a lot more than that. It is an attempt to get at interactive, to involve the entertainment industry, advertising, public information, corporate sponsorship as well as community partnerships. There are our three targets. It is not just youth audiences. We are trying to shape and talk to moms and dads, adult mentors, people who work with young people, influential adult audiences. Those are the targets of the media campaign, the anti-drug message.

By the way, for the first time in history, we are evaluating it specifically. We paid money up front. We have a science-based way of telling not only that drug use in America will predictably continue to come down but we will try and disentangle which influences created the most pay back for our tax dollars. I think we are going to be able to cover that a bit the next panel will more knowledgeably address that thought.

There is a feedback loop there. Yesterday in reviewing my testimony, I was pretty adamant with NIDA. It is not enough. My colleagues I work with Ogilvy and Mather, Fleishman Hillard and 11 subcontractors—provide feed back so we can modify this campaign and learn from it as it goes along.

Here is a quick look at it. We began hoping to hit a target audience. Jim Burke and I, on the back of an envelope, said we are aiming for four times a week, 90 percent market penetration. That is where we were headed. When you combine the paid component and the matching component which you have required me, by law, to get, 100 percent matching component, that is where we are. For the general population, essentially we are up to seven times a week with a 95 percent market penetration. When you look at the African-American population, it is similarly extremely high penetration and Hispanic as well.

I might add we are watching 10 ethnic subcontractors' work to make sure we are not hitting our overall targets, as Mr. Cummings pointed out, but also getting to communities the relevant antidrug messages, so that the message in Hawaii, in Boise, ID, Newark and Miami are all quite different. The drug threat, and the nature of the community has to be taken into account.

Here is a matching component. There are a bunch of different ways to dice it and I would be glad to respond to your questions but let me give you the bottom line. Started in January 1998, we are now at the 2-year anniversary of national media campaign. We are starting our third year. The anniversary was only last week.

The campaign has made Federal ad buys, $318 million, and I got 130 percent matching funding. If you take into account time and space, programming, other corporate contributions, all together that comprises 130 percent match, almost $1 billion in value to the taxpayers. I mention this because I think the industry—advertising, entertainment—has been extremely supportive in general of what we are trying to do.

Is there a payoff? Obviously it is premature to claim we have a causal relationship between an ad and a youth attitude. Having said that, I want to show you some clusters of studies that tend to track together. That is what is happening right now. The statement posed "Kids who are really cool don't use drugs." More of them are agreeing than prior to starting the campaign. In my school, marijuana users are popular. It is going down dramatically, not up.

We mentioned the household survey data which Secretary Donna Shalala and I will put out again in late August. We don't yet know the results, but here is what happened last year. For 12 to 17 year olds drug use went down 13 percent. It was statistically significant in a mathematical sense. Some things, such as inhalant use, went down dramatically. Cocaine use is down. Marijuana use is down.

What is the discrepancy between the CDC data that you mentioned and these studies? They are taken in different timeframes. CDC is 1991 to 1998. This is an ongoing, huge data base, longitudinal study and it is saying last year, drug use went down. I hope it continues to say that, although I am sure we will have some fluctuations off the mean as we work through this in the coming years. That is one data point I would suggest you take into account.

There are others. Is it working? The pro bono match is coming in—130 percent was the total figure but it is 107 percent pro bono direct match. The Internet site Freevibe.com, you talk about leverage—1.8 million page views. These kids come to the site and they stay. I am going to talk about "cookies," as one of the top 25 people in the country now who understand cookies, why we are trying to evaluate these online programs.

Television programs, content, 100 million teen impressions, 250 million adult impressions, 63 percent of parents now reporting discussing risk of drug use, up from 53, dramatic changes, as shown by the Center for Alcohol and Substance Abuse, at Columbia University.

We also went out there to build a coalition. One of the mandates from Congress, and it was a sensible one, was make sure your dollars don't dry up associated youth-oriented organization outreach

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efforts. That is why Peggy Conlon and the Ad Council have been so fundamental to what we have been trying to achieve. These are just representative.

When you look down the organizations we partnered with and see the impact of the pro bono match portion of the campaign on their outreach, it is astonishing. The National Fatherhood Initiative is up 384 percent, Kids Peace, their hits in the first quarter of 2000 were greater than the entire year of 1999; National 4-H Council, I am about to go to an event with them, they've experienced a 20 percent increase in their volunteers; Crime Prevention Council, a huge increase, $18 million worth of equivalent advertising; America's Promise, Web site hits up 122 percent and that is almost unquestionably due to the matching component of the ad campaign that Congress authorized.

We do have some guidelines on pro bono match. We think the thing has been run pretty sensibly but there was confusion. You are going to hear from a journalist, Dan Forbes, about his reporting on the matching content. I would just tell you up front the notion that there was Government money being secretly paid to manipulate "Manchurian Candidate" style the minds of the American people is laughable. This was the subject of three congressional hearings, was on the front page of USA Today, was widely reported throughout the industry. It was released by President Clinton and me and Newt Gingrich and the Governor of Georgia on all national TV in July 1998. It is the subject of those evaluations which I provided to Congress.

By the way, not 1 cent got paid to anybody for program content. Media executives who chose to use program content as part of their matching, around 15 percent of it—it was very important not to the big media like ABC but to media with less financial resources. So we wanted to make sure we gave producers, directors and artists not only scientifically accurate information but the option of working the message into program content.

It is unquestionable that I am trying to get an anti-drug message against methamphetamines, heroin, cocaine, marijuana abuse into popular culture. That is what we are trying to do. We clearly cannot take on any involvement in the creative process, we don't want to be involved in the review authority, I want Ogilvy Mather to do that. They are a big, professional commercial operation and we have to make sure, as we have in the past, that there is no spill over or crossover into news editorial substantive content or reporting.

Here is a little insight on "cookies." All of us ought to be concerned over privacy on the Internet. This is a valid concern and if we don't follow it closely, meaning the Congress and others of us in Government, we will end up with a situation we don't like. We clearly do not want relational data bases in which people can monitor individual activity and tie it to a government agency by name. That is what we are concerned about. Technically, in the coming years that would absolutely be possible.

When we talk about cookies, what they were being used for, with what impact? First of all, there is zero possibility that the cookies being used by ONDCP could in any way be tied to an individual person. You simply can't do it. It is inert code. It is in there and

identifies that you came to freevibe.com, that you clicked through, at what level you exited, how long did you stay there. If you come back again to the site, it will say this computer has come back, give them a new ad, but you cannot say that somebody typed in the word pot, why don't we report them to the DEA. This is ludicrous. We have to make sure that technically we understand what we are talking about.

Second, we ask the question do cookies have any value. Yes, they do. If I put on cookie disable, and you ought to try it on your computer so that every time you are on the Internet, somebody tries to insert a temporary or hard drive cookie in your computer, you have to give individual permission. I guarantee that you are going to turn it off after about a hour. There is a blizzard of these devices to allow you to operate effectively on the Internet and allow us to evaluate our media campaign.

People using cookies include the ACLU, the United Way, the Republican National Committee, the FTC, the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, Representative Dick Armey, Representative Dick Gephardt, the Washington Post and Toys R Us. I just mention that because this is a tool of the modern age. It deserves your careful scrutiny. We ought to be concerned about it, but we also want to understand the technology we are now working with.

Let me tell you that my own assessment is we have gotten a huge complex program up and running pretty effectively. You are going to hear from kids who will say good or bad things. Remember we are out there with focus groups of the right age population, including various ethnic backgrounds. We are modifying these ads so they are science-based and they tell a story that is credible and true to young people and their adult mentors.

Let me close by showing you a video. It will give you insight into the nature of some of these video messages.

[Video presentation.]

Gen. MCCAFFREY. When that "girl power" ad showed with my two daughters in the audience in Seattle last week, the entire audience stood up and cheered. It is a powerful message. Secretary Shalala and I released it with 200 young women in the room to try to get into play that we are focused on all children in America.

The final example I showed you was an example of two things. Mr. Bill Cosby on program content, they chose to do so—producer, the director, the writers of that video to include an anti-alcohol, anti-drug youth message in their program.

The second part of it, when he talks of the 1–800 number, for calling in, that is their matching public service announcement. That is the power of this media communicating a science-based message to our children. We ought to expect it to work over time. The kids don't have problems, we argue, the adults have problems. This is part of our attempt to communicate with children.

Thank you again for the chance to lay out these opening statements. I look forward to responding to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. McCaffrey follows:]

Statement by Barry R. McCaffrey
Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy
Before the House Committee on Government Reform,
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources
July 11, 2000

Introduction

Chairman Mica, Representative Mink, distinguished members of the subcommittee, your interest in all aspects of drug control policy and your commitment to bipartisan support of the *National Drug Control Strategy's* number one goal – *to educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs as well as alcohol and tobacco* – are much appreciated. We welcome this opportunity to explain important aspects of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. This campaign is an integrated youth and adult marketing and public health communications effort to reach American audiences with traditional and modern communication strategies to influence attitudes and action regarding drug use. Many indicators point to positive trends and a generation of teenagers increasingly choosing to stay drug free.

There are many individuals and organizations that play important roles in shaping and conducting this vital drug-prevention campaign. **(See Appendix I for full description of our major team members and their accomplishments.)** We are all indebted to Mr. Jim Burke and the Partnership for a Drug Free America (PDFA). PDFA has been our tireless partner in implementing the Campaign. We would not be as successful in our anti-drug efforts without their valuable expertise, helpfulness and good will.

Peggy Conlon of the Ad Council is the quarterback of the anti-drug campaign's public service component. The Ad Council is the nation's largest clearinghouse for public service advertising. Through the Ad Council's help, the Campaign has expanded public service advertising efforts on numerous issues, even in a time of declining PSA airtime.

Major General (retired) Art Dean and the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America (CADCA) are valuable team members. For this Campaign to succeed, we need to reach people not only via the airwaves, but also in their communities. Through the help of CADCA, we have "localized" the Campaign. From parenting programs to anti-drug soccer tournaments, we can reach all Americans — where they live, work and play.

Dr. Alan Leshner and the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) play a critical role in the evaluation of the Campaign, helping to ensure that we are producing the results we need. Dr. Leshner is, without question, one of the world's leading authorities on drug abuse. NIDA sponsors roughly 85 percent of the world's research into drug addiction.

Part I of this testimony summarizes the basis and structure of the Campaign. Part II explains key aspects of the campaign, such as the pro-bono match and integrated programming. Part III presents the results attained to date by the campaign and Part IV details the performance plan and projected results for Phase III of the Campaign.

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I: Basis and Structure of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

A. Authorizing Legislation Calls For a Holistic Anti-Drug Approach

The requirement to conduct a national media campaign is outlined in 21 U.S.C. § 1801 et seq., which also provides specific instructions to ONDCP. Pertinent excerpts of Sec. 1802 (Use of Funds) are cited below:

> In general ... amounts made available to carry out this chapter for the support of the national media campaign may only be used for ... "entertainment industry collaborations to fashion antidrug messages in motion pictures, television programming, popular music, interactive (Internet and new) media projects and activities, public information, news media outreach, and corporate sponsorship and participation."
>
> "Amounts made available under Section 1804 of this title should be matched by an equal amount of non-Federal funds for the national media campaign, or be matched with in-kind contributions to the campaign of the same value."

B. The Campaign is Based Squarely on Sound Research

Media play an important role in public health campaigns because of their wide reach, real time impact and ability to influence behavior.[1] The news media shape our decisions and actions by informing and alerting us to what is going on in our communities as well as telling us about trends in our culture. The entertainment media also help influence our beliefs about the world around us.[2] Advertising stimulates or changes perceptions and beliefs about specific issues (seatbelts, drunk driving, etc.).

For all their power to inform and persuade, media alone cannot bring about large, sustained changes in drug use behavior. Research shows that media programs work best in conjunction with other community- and school-based anti-drug programs, when consistent messages are conveyed through a variety of channels and in several different contexts, and key "influencers" and entire communities mobilize around the program.[3]

Nearly a year of research went into designing the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. This campaign's media aspects are supported and coordinated with person-to-person initiatives in homes, schools, and communities.

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[1] Flora, Maibach, & Maccoby, 1989; Maibach & Holtgrave, 1995.
[2] Brown, Childers, & Waszak, 1990; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorelli, 1986; Marc, 1984.
[3] Flay & Sobel, 1983; Maccoby, 1990; Schilling & McAllister, 1990; Sloboda & David, 1997.

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C. The Campaign Assures Success Through a Fully Integrated Effort

After extensive research, we concluded that campaign messages must reinforce prevention messages delivered in other settings including schools, community organizations, and homes, and are linked to existing prevention resources in communities. Therefore, we developed a communication strategy based on proven integrated communications approaches. The integrated communications approach we embrace encourages adoption by community organizations, professional groups, and government agencies.

Our communications strategy adheres to congressional intent articulated in the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999 (P.L. 105-277, October 21, 1998). This legislation directed that ONDCP supporting the national media campaign be used for:

- ✓ Purchase of media time and space.
- ✓ Testing and evaluation of advertising and the entire campaign.
- ✓ Partnership with community, civic, professional, and government organizations.
- ✓ Entertainment industry collaborations to promote accurate depictions of drug use issues in movies, television programming, and popular music.
- ✓ Interactive (Internet and new) media activities.
- ✓ Public information and education (news media outreach), including dissemination through the workplace.
- ✓ Corporate sponsorship/participation.

The anti-drug media campaign is anchored by a broad advertising effort...

Advertising (both purchased and pro-bono matches) on TV, radio, print and on the Internet is the cornerstone of the media campaign. **(See Appendix II for a listing of the publications included in our advertising "Roadblock," to inundate the media with correct messages about drugs.)** We programmed $153.017 million in FY 1998 for advertising and increased allocations for advertising by 16.7 percent to $178.584 million in FY 1999. The national advertising follows specific anti-drug themes each month across 102 local markets with more than 2,250 media outlets. The strategic use of advertising increases the reach and frequency of our key messages. In the last year, we reached 95 percent of 12 to 17 year-olds an average of 8.3 messages per week.

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...bolstered by complementary communications activities

The non-advertising component of the anti-drug campaign delivers our messages through radio and television, print media, the Internet, faith communities, health professionals, community coalitions, schools, parents, coaches, and organized sports. The drug prevention campaign also includes an entertainment industry component to ensure that drug use is depicted accurately on television and in film and music.

We programmed $12.778 million in FY 1999 to anti-drug outreach media campaign programs that include the following activities:

1. Partnerships w/Community/Civic and other Organizations. To extend and amplify the reach of campaign messages, the non-advertising component builds support for prevention programs with organizational and community partners.

We have partnered with nearly 100 youth or parent organizations in our effort to reach youth and adults – allowing a wide variety of public and private organizations to participate in and extend the reach of the Campaign. Here are some examples:

- *YMCA of the USA.* One example is our partnership with the YMCA of the USA, which reaches out to sixteen million people (eight million kids). As a result of this partnership, for the first time in their history, the YMCA is incorporating drug prevention resources and messages into their publications and curriculum materials for middle school aged youth.

- *Youth Service America.* Similarly, the Media Campaign is collaborating with Youth Service America – an umbrella organization of two hundred youth service groups representing thirty million young Americans – to regularly disseminate drug prevention information through their network.

- The campaign is also working through national organizations like the Boys and Girls Clubs and the National Middle Schools Association to strengthen anti-drug efforts at the local level.

2. Entertainment Industry Collaboration. Federal public health agencies like the NIDA and SAHMSA are engaging the entertainment industry to ensure that when drugs are portrayed in programming, an accurate depiction is communicated – including risks and consequences. Media campaign experts are also conducting content analysis studies to determine how drugs are portrayed in entertainment media[4] and meet regularly with producers and entertainment executives to offer factual medical and behavioral perspectives on drug use.

[4] See for example *Substance Abuse in Popular Movies & Music*, Office of national drug Control policy & U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, April 1999 and June 2000 TV Content Analysis.

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2. Interactive/Internet New Media/ Projects Activities. This is the most comprehensive interactive media effort ever launched by the federal government. There are several reasons the Internet is a powerful vehicle for delivering our campaign messaging. In sum, they are: the medium is growing; youth use of the medium is growing; the medium enables measurable advertising; success measures are granular and immediate, the Internet is extremely cost effective; and synergies with the overall media plan are considerable.

Internet usage growth has been 100 percent over the past two years, and is likely to continue to grow at a compounded annual growth rate of 53 percent over the next four years.[3] The Internet's expansion outpaces that of television and radio following their introductions. The penetration attained by the Internet in its first five years was matched by television after thirteen years and radio after thirty-eight years.[4] Users spend an average of 7.5 hours on-line each month, and this time is increasing.[5]

While 22 percent of households with children are on-line, 34 percent of 12 to17 year-olds have access to the Internet today, and 60 percent are expected to have access by the year 2002.[6] Parents are also on-line during work-hours; the Internet is the most accessible communications medium in the workplace. Parents access the web primarily for information. Health data is second only to news in terms of the reasons they log on.[7] Today, more homes with children under eighteen subscribe to the Internet than subscribe to the newspaper.

The World Wide Web, with eight million sites, allows for much narrower targeting than other media targets. Internet technology is becoming an integral component of other entertainment/infotainment vehicles (e.g. games, CDs, CD-ROMs, DVD), further increasing target breadth/engagement. Technology enables users to delve deeply and immediately into subjects of interest.

Media Campaign Websites

The Media Campaign manages eight web sites where parents, teens and tweens can learn, play and interact with others. The sites are widely publicized, including references and links through hundreds of other web sites focused on parenting, education, sports and general teen outreach. Current site statistics follow:

Freevibe:
Since its launch in March of 1999, Freevibe.com has received 1,847,313 page views.
Average Number of Page Views Per Day - 10,669.
Average User Session Length - 7 minutes and 46 seconds.

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[3] EMarketer, September 20, 1999.
[4] Meeker, Mary and Pearson, Sharon, Morgan Stanley, *U.S. Investment Research: Internet Retail*, May 28, 1997.
[5] Jupiter Digital Kids, 1999.
[6] EMarketer, September 20, 1999 - While 22 percent of households with children are on-line, 48 percent of 12 to 17 year-olds have access to the Internet today, and 60 percent are expected to have access by the year 2002.
[7] Media Metrix, August 1999.

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AOL PDRC:
Since the launch of the Parents' Drug Resource Center area, the area has received 432,630 member visits.
Average User Session length - 6 minutes and 20 seconds.

In addition to the web sites for which we have direct responsibility, we are now linked to many other government websites. You may recall that Representative Matt Salmon led the way by introducing legislation to include anti-drug messages on NASA's website – the government site most visited by young people. Since NASA agreed to carry anti-drug messages and link to our web sites, more than twenty other federal agencies have added anti-drug messages to their websites.

Beyond government sites, we are adding an average of three more web site links per week to educational groups, non-governmental organizations, advocacy groups and others in the prevention community. The campaign has developed and continues to develop on-line interactive resources for all campaign audiences, both on its own and in collaboration with major on-line media companies such as AOL and SONY. We are also developing a website designed specifically for entertainment writers and producers, to give them up-to-the-minute information on substance abuse issues.

Users' Privacy Rights Secure

Lately, there has been much talk in the popular press about "cookies" and the protection of online privacy. ONDCP is carefully adhering to federal guidelines and White House policies regarding Internet activities. With the exception of visitors who voluntary submitted information through email to our sites, the Office of National Drug Control Policy, its contractors Ogilvy & Mather and Fleishman-Hillard, or any subcontractors have not collected any personally identifiable information about individuals while performing functions related to websites and banner ads in support of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Furthermore, we always protect the privacy and identity of individuals who submit emails. We use this information solely to respond to visitor questions or requests for information. We will continue to safeguard the privacy and identity of individuals who submit emails.

In light of the recent attention given to 'cookies' and new OMB guidance concerning Internet activities, We conducted a comprehensive review of all online activities undertaken by ONDCP and our contractors and subcontractors. In accordance with OMB guidance of June 22, 2000, we suspended all 'cookie' activities on our media campaign websites. We have confirmed that our online activities and policies are in absolute compliance with Federal and White House online privacy guidelines.

In computer terms, a cookie is a small string of text that is stored in a web browser's temporary memory and sometimes saved to the user's hard drive. It is made up of a series of values that can include the cookie's name, originating server, expiration date, and a variable set by the originating server. Other values, including comment and path, can also be set. It does not,

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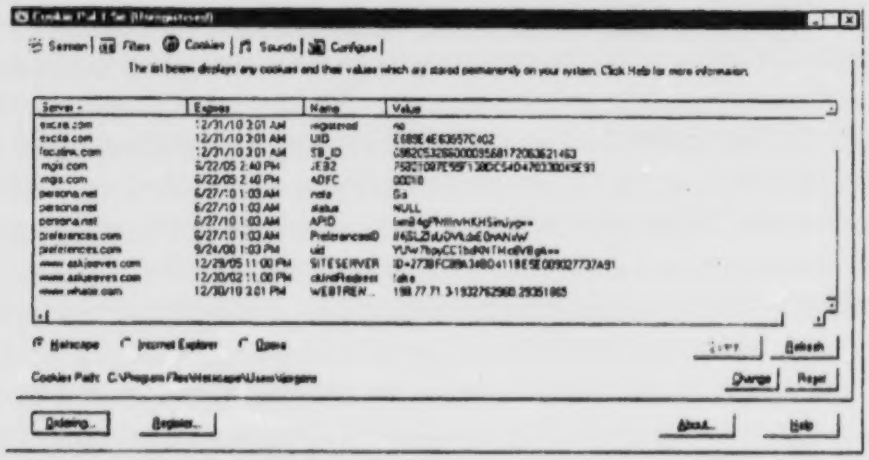
per se, collect personally identifiable information. Figure 1 shows the server, expiration, name, and value of several cookies.

Figure 1
Cookies



A cookie can only be retrieved and interpreted by the server that set it. It was originally designed to keep track of user passwords and preferences and various aspects of a user's "session" within a website. Cookies are now used in e-commerce as well, and can, for instance, aid in on-line ordering or keep track of the kinds of websites visited in order to direct specific banner advertisements to a user.

In fact, our privacy policies and data collection activities are modeled on those on the White House web page. We will work closely with OMB to ensure that our websites continue to comply with all Federal guidelines and policies. We have confirmed that contractors and subcontractors supporting our websites understand Federal standards and will ensure that our future online activities and practices comply with them.

4. News Media Outreach and Public Education. Central to the media campaign are Public Information activities dealing with the news media, direct outreach, and special events to generate a steady flow of campaign messages to youth and adult audiences. Outreach ranges from national print and broadcast outlets to local community (and even school) newspapers in order to provide drugs prevention information and strategies to various audiences, educate reporters, and leverage current events and trends. Additionally, program activities and outreach initiatives have been developed to reach adults and kids where they spend the majority of their time - at work and in school.

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Some examples of public information outreach are:

- **Cub Reporters**: A major cable company, MediaOne, and ONDCP co-sponsored a "Cub Reporter" bus tour from Miami to Washington, DC in the last week of August 1999. The cub reporters talked with and filmed other kids' experiences and opinions about drugs. 10,000 copies of a 30-minute video were made available to schools and youth groups.

- **School-based programs**: In August 1999, ONDCP unveiled a package of school-based programs for the 1999-2000 school year and beyond. They include:

  The Straight Scoop News Bureau, a resource for middle and high school journalists to give them factual "straight scoop" information on drugs and drug use. Partners in the new bureau include the Annie E. Casey School of Journalism for Children and Families, *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Times*. News bureau resources can be found at www.straightscoop.org.

II: Explanation of Key Aspects of the Campaign

The first goal of the *1999 National Drug Control Strategy* is to "educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs, as well as alcohol and tobacco." Our strategy adheres to congressional intent articulated in the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999 (P.L. 105-277, October 21, 1998). This legislation directed that "the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy...shall conduct a national media campaign...for the purpose of reducing and preventing drug abuse among young people in the United States." It authorizes uses of funds for "partnerships with...professional groups...[and for] entertainment industry collaborations to fashion anti-drug messages in motion pictures, television programming, popular music, interactive (Internet and new) media projects and activities, public information, news media outreach, and corporate sponsorship and participation."

Congress enacted the Administration's anti-drug media campaign in 1997 and mandated the following:

(1) Pro Bono Match Program. Congress requires a "100 percent pro bono match" -- each advertising dollar spent in a media outlet must be matched by a comparable amount of donated time or space, over and above existing public-service activities, by media organizations that receive federal funds.

(2) Integration of Programming. Congress authorized ONDCP to "fashion anti-drug messages in motion pictures, television programming, popular music, interactive (Internet and new) media projects and activities, public information, news media outreach and corporate sponsorship and participation" as a vehicle for communicating the campaign's message.

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(3) Corporate Sponsorship Program. ONDCP recently submitted a Corporate Sponsorship Plan to increase the number of opportunities for corporations to participate in the Campaign.

1. The Pro Bono Match Program

In keeping with congressional intent, and to provide media outlets flexibility as they match public funds, the pro bono match can take a variety of forms. Options include public-service time or space, program content, development and maintenance of websites, educational material, or community programs. Network executives voluntarily choose the ways in which they will fulfill this match. Many have exceeded their requirements. Overall, we achieved a successful 107 percent match for appropriated funds during Phase III. **(See Appendix III for a list of organizations benefiting from the Pro Bono Match program.)**

(a) Provision of Technical Assistance

The creative community has, on occasion, asked ONDCP to provide technical and scientific assistance on the depiction of drug-use issues. ONDCP responds to these requests with accurate data and studies from the National Institute on Drug Abuse. We also make available experts in youth substance abuse prevention. This type of scientific exchange with federal health and drug agencies precedes the media campaign and is common with expert organizations (e.g., for law-enforcement and medical programs). Let me underscore, there is no *quid pro quo* involved in the separate processes of (1) providing accurate scientific information, and (2) allocating credit for pro bono match submissions.

(b) Valuation of Programs for the Pro Bono Match

The National Institute on Drug Abuse, the HHS Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, and the Behavioral Change Expert Panel are preeminent experts in drug prevention and substance abuse who advise the media campaign. We have reviewed approximately 120 program episodes and determined that 109 did support the campaign. ONDCP's media-buying company, Ogilvy & Mather, subsequently allocated matching credit value to these programs. At no time during this process did ONDCP veto or otherwise dictate the content of any of these programs.

Recent media reports has raised two questions:

- Is the federal government **interfering** with the creative process? **We are not.**
- Is the financial leverage of the media campaign being used to **require changes** in program content? **The answer is no.**

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The following guidelines are being followed to eliminate any misunderstandings and prevent any inference of Federal intrusion in the creative process:

1st The Anti-Drug Media Campaign will comply with all applicable law (21 USC 1801(a)). ONDCP will continue to require a 100 percent match for every Federal dollar spent on media outlets. The manner in which media executives elect to meet this match requirement will remain entirely up to each outlet.

2nd ONDCP and our contractors will not review program episodes for pro bono credit until after such program episodes have aired or been published.

3rd We will keep separate the process of providing scientific and technical assistance from the process of providing post-broadcast valuation decisions.

We believe that these guidelines will eliminate any confusion about how the pro bono match process of the National Youth Media Campaign works. We have forged a strong partnership with the entertainment and media community and look forward to continuing to strengthen those ties. Together we are making a difference in the lives of our nation's children.

2. Integration of Programming and Leveraging the Creative Process

In the 1980s, public-health advocates began to harness television programming to promote public-health issues. Since then, numerous campaigns have sought to communicate prevention messages within programming. Research underscores this approach:

- **The National Designated Driver Campaign.** One of the best-documented examples of a media campaign incorporating entertainment programming is the *National Designated Driver Campaign* that was launched in 1988. According to Dr. Jay A. Winsten, Ph.D., Associate Dean and Director of Harvard School of Public Health's Center for Health Communication, **the campaign broke new ground when television writers agreed to insert drug driving prevention messages in scripts of top-rated shows.** Dr. Winsten describes this campaign as "the first successful effort to mobilize the Hollywood creative community on such a scale, using dialogue in prime time entertainment as a health promotion technology." This integrated public-health communications campaign had a marked effect on alcohol-related traffic fatalities. Whereas in the three years before the designated driver campaign there had been 0 percent change in such fatalities, by 1992 (four years after the campaign's launch), annual fatalities had declined by 24 percent.[10]

[10] Winsten JA. Promoting Designated Drivers: The Harvard Alcohol Project. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*. 1994 May-Jun; 10 (3 Supp):11-14.

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- **1999 Healthstyles Survey**. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention analysis of this report reveals that almost half (48 percent) of the people who report they watch soap operas at least twice a week learned something about diseases and how to prevent them from the daytime drama story lines. More than one-third (34 percent) took some action as a result. One in four (25 percent) told someone about it. 13 percent suggested someone do something about it. 7 percent visited a clinic or doctor, and 6 percent did something to prevent the problem.[11]

The media campaign's *Communication Strategy* statement highlights programming's potential for communicating public health messages. Excerpts of the document follow:

- ✓ "Research has repeatedly shown that media programs work best in conjunction with other community- and school-based anti-drug programs, when consistent messages are conveyed through a variety of channels and in several different contexts." (Flay & Sobel, 1983; Macoby, 1990; Schilling & McAllister, 1990; Sloboda & David, 1997) – P. 6.

- ✓ "Health information, including information about drug use issues, is provided through all forms of media including news, entertainment programming, and advertising. This information is so pervasive that most people report the media as their primary source of information about health issues." (Freimuth, Stein, and Kean, 1989) – P. 7.

- ✓ The media campaign must "harness a diverse media mix including television, video, radio, print, and Internet and other forms of new media to deliver both general and tailored messages. Within the media mix, messages will be delivered through the full range of media content, including paid and public service advertising, news, public affairs, programming, and **entertainment programming**." – P. 9.

- ✓ "Effective message tailoring involves ... working with communications professionals who specialize in **creating content** for particular audiences." – P. 9.

Evaluations of the media campaign confirm this research

- **ONDCP September 1998 report to Congress** – (*Testing the Anti-Drug Message in 12 American Cities: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase I (Report No. 1)* – **found that:**

- ✓ Youth asserted that "TV programming promotes drug use and violence." – P. ES-4.

- ✓ "Parents' perceptions of the cultural relevance and credibility of anti-drug ads, much like youth's perceptions, focused more on program content and presentation..." – P. ES-7.

[11] The Healthstyles Survey is a proprietary database product developed by Porter Novelli. Its sampling is based on seven U.S. Census Bureau characteristics. The survey is used by organizations such as CDC to shape public-health outreach efforts.

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- ✓ The Internet, television shows, and song lyrics heard on radio frequently condone the use of drugs. Youth are bombarded with these messages on a daily basis. Mothers and fathers frequently work long hours outside the home, leaving their children free during the after school hours to watch television and be exposed to messages that glamorize drug use. Youth, particularly high school students, are subjected to ever-increasing sources of stress in their daily lives. Future decisions about the design and implementation of the media campaign should be made within the context of these issues." – P. ES-13.

- **ONDCP June 1999 report to Congress** – (*Investing in our Nation's Youth: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase II Final Report)* –**found that**:

  - ✓ "There was a significant increase in the percentages of both youth and teens who perceived that TV shows, news, and movies were important sources of anti-drug information."– P. 5-2.

  - ✓ "The use of TV shows, news, and movies; outside billboards; and posters on buses, bus stops and subways are effective ways of reaching youth and teens with anti-drug messages." – P. 5-3.

Today, there are a number of national organizations working within the existing structures of the entertainment industry, attempting to have a positive influence on programming. They include the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the Population Communications Institute, the American Lung Association, and the media campaign's own partner, Mediascope. Their efforts are complemented by those of federal agencies like ONDCP, NASA, the National Institutes of Health, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, as well as all of the branches of our armed forces, who work to ensure that entertainment portrays issues and situations realistically and accurately.

The Entertainment Initiative

The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Entertainment Initiative works to promote accurate portrayal of the drug issue, using popular culture to capture the attention of kids and their parents. Over the next three and a half years, The Office of National Drug Control Policy is making it a priority to work with the entertainment industry to surround teens with vital drug prevention messages and provide adults with practical information to help them raise drug-free kids. We focus on youth and parents where they are – on the Internet, watching television and watching movies.

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Entertainment Goals are to:

- Incorporate drug prevention messages and themes into popular culture, and dispel myths and misconceptions about drug abuse.
- Encourage accurate depictions of drug use issues--including consequences of drug abuse in programming popular with teens.
- De-normalize the image of drug use on TV, and in popular music and film.
- Utilize entertainment media to provide accurate drug information and resources on substance abuse to parents, caregivers, and policymakers.

Entertainment Activities include:

- Providing resources and information on substance abuse to the creative community through briefings, script reviews, special events, collateral materials and access to experts.
- Engaging celebrities who are positive role models in extending the reach of Campaign messages.
- Participating in and hosting entertainment industry events.
- Developing public service messages in collaboration with major media outlets.
- Conducting content analysis and other research to determine how entertainment media depict substance abuse issues.

The Entertainment Team

To support its outreach strategy, our Entertainment Team identifies and provides experts and resources to the entertainment community, particularly writers who may have questions concerning substance abuse. This expertise is specifically tailored to meet the needs of the television industry, particularly the time constraints under which writers work. Experts work with television writers and producers to provide them a deeper understanding of how to depict substance abuse accurately.

Subject matter experts inform the creators through a series of briefings, roundtables, and workshops in New York and Hollywood. These events are a cost-effective way to motivate television writers, film screenwriters, and executives to portray realistic substance abuse consequences and to spur ideas for future storylines. They are very inexpensive to produce--the Campaign is often able to secure donations of space and other resources, and all speakers and experts donate their time. The payoff can be substantial: Campaign messages are incorporated into dramatic storylines that are conveyed on valuable airtime, via top-rated shows seen by millions of viewers. In fact, if the Campaign were to rely exclusively on purchasing ad time, reaching audiences of this size would be prohibitively expensive.

Some of the sessions conducted over the last year include briefings for network executives and roundtables for creative executives involved in programming that targets children and teens. A broad array of entertainment industry organizations and its leaders have participated, including the Writers Guild, Caucus of Producers, Writers and Directors,

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Entertainment Industry Council, Screen Actors Guild, Directors Guild, Producers Guild, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, as well as representatives from representatives from major television production companies, talent agencies, publicity and management firms, and – perhaps most importantly – writer from some of America's most popular shows.

As a result of these activities, key creative and programming executives understand the power they share to teach the truth. All six broadcast television networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox, The WB, UPN), The Fox Family Channel, Warner Bros. Television, Disney Television, Universal Television, Creative Artists Agency, The Writers Guild, The Directors Guild, and The Screen Actors Guild participate. Meetings with producers, writers, and studio executives have contributed to increased anti drug messages being included "in-program," more accurate/fact based depictions of substance abuse; and inclusion of campaign-related themes in shows such as *Cosby, ER, Chicago Hope, NYPD Blue, Home Improvement, 7th Heaven*. **These programs are conservatively estimated to have generated more than 100 million teen impressions and 250 million adult impressions.**

Focusing on Filmmakers

As powerful as television is, some experts believe that movies have an even stronger impact on young people. However, the creative process for producing a film is dramatically different than that for television. Scripts are often years in development, and they may or may not ever get made. As a result, the Campaign takes a long-term view on working with filmmakers and understands that we may not see concrete results for several years.

To impact film, the Campaign will work closely with major studios, as well as the individual writers and directors, who are the driving force behind what is seen on the screen. Getting Campaign messages in front of these individuals requires working with the organizations that represent them, such as the Writers and Directors Guilds. We have begun this process in Phase III of the Campaign, and will continue our efforts through workshops, briefings, roundtables, and one-on-one conversations with industry leaders. Through continuous dialogue we believe we can raise awareness about how images of substance abuse in the movies impact audiences, particularly young audiences.

Finally, we believe there will be opportunities to leverage popular movies and videos that responsibly communicate Campaign messages, after they have been released. In Phase III of the Campaign we are pursuing promotional activities and special events that capitalize on the visibility of these films in the marketplace.

Celebrity Outreach

Advertisers and marketers have always used celebrities to pitch their messages. The technique is particularly effective with young people, who frequently try to emulate the looks, behavior, and attitude of their favorite stars. Rather than relying on the talents of a single spokesperson, we are using a diverse group of celebrities in a variety of ways, and subsequently reaching diverse audiences. A variety of celebrities have spoken publicly about Campaign themes and goals. All have generously donated their services to the American taxpayer—no fees have been paid to engage celebrities in Media Campaign activities.

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3. Corporate Sponsorship Program

As part of the Media Campaign, Congress required a "Corporate Sponsorship and Participation" program. In response to congressional direction, ONDCP in 1998 contracted the consulting firm, Porter Novelli, to prepare a proposed plan as the basis for an RFP to acquire a contractor to implement a Sponsorship and Participation Program.

ONDCP's Office of Legal Counsel has drafted a Corporate Sponsorship and Participation RFP using Federal contract procedures designed to streamline the procurement process (FAR Part 12). Profits are tied to results instead of costs, and payments are tied to achievement of measurable objectives. Under the FAR Part 12 model, the government provides a statement of objectives, and bidders devise their own proposed statement of work and quality assurance plan. An acquisition action to acquire a contractor to plan and implement the sponsorship program has been drafted and provided to the appropriating committees of Congress.

The over-arching purposes of the Corporate Sponsorship and Participation Program are to: (1) generate significant private sector funds to ONDCP to defray, in part, government costs of the overall media Campaign, and (2) use proven corporate sponsorship techniques and programs to augment and expand the total communications impact of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

The Corporate Sponsorship Program consists principally of corporate development initiatives to produce philanthropic donations to ONDCP in support of the Media Campaign, and various forms of marketing and communications initiatives that would expand the delivery of Campaign youth anti-drug messages using the marketplace and the reach and resources available to the corporate sector. Each sponsorship agreement will differ. Some will produce incremental funds as a by-product of the particular corporate relationship and marketing programs involved. All will supplement the total communications impact of the campaign.

Programs, projects and initiatives expected to be part of the Sponsorship Program include:

- Philanthropic donations
- Licensing of ONDCP/National Youth Anti-Drug Campaign trademarks and other intellectual property (brand symbols/logos)
- Special events marketing
- Recognition events/programs
- Corporate workforce programs
- Professional sports partnerships
- Entertainment industry promotions
- Consumer product marketing, co-branding programs
- Corporate image advertising – cause marketing programs

A key element for the success of virtually all the above forms of marketing is establishing Campaign brands and gaining widespread public recognition of the symbols of these brands. The Campaign has now established *The Anti-Drug* as its brand for adults, and it plans to launch *My Anti-Drug* as its youth brand in Fall 2000.

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III - The Anti-Drug Campaign Makes a Strong Impact with Measurable Results in Phase I and Phase II

A. The anti-drug media campaign is surpassing initial expectations

PHASE I. During the initial twenty-six-week pilot in twelve cities (Phase I, January through June 1998), we exceeded our goal of reaching 90 percent of the overall target audience with four anti-drug messages a week.[12] The campaign's Phase I message delivery rate follows:

Overall
Teens 12 – 17: 95 % viewed an average of 8.5 messages /week.
Adults 25 – 54: 95 % viewed an average of 7.5 messages /week.

African-American
Teens 12 – 17: 96 % viewed an average of 9.4 messages /week.
Adults 25 – 54: 96 % viewed an average of 8.4 messages /week.

Hispanic
Teens 12 – 17: 90 % viewed an average of 5.9 messages /week.
Adults 25 – 54: 85 % viewed an average of 5.8 messages /week.

The evaluations ONDCP submitted to Congress showed that youth and teens demonstrated significant increases in ad recall in the target versus the comparison sites -- youth increases ranged from 11 to 26 percent, teens ranged from 13 to 27 percent. Parents in target sites had an 11 percent gain in awareness of the risks of drugs and said that the Campaign provided them with new information about drugs. The number and frequency of PSA's for other related social issues increased, demonstrating no interference from the paid ad campaign.[13] In Phase I, the total match value was $21 million dollars indexing at 100 percent.

PHASE II. When the anti-drug media campaign was expanded to a national audience (Phase II, July 1998 through June 1999), we maintained our planned message delivery rates:

Overall
Teens 12 – 17: 95 % viewed an average of 6.8 messages /week.
Adults 25 – 54: 92 % viewed an average of 4.5 messages /week.

African-American
Teens 12 – 17: 96 % viewed an average of 7.6 messages /week.
Adults 25 – 54: 95 % viewed an average of 7.2 messages /week.

Hispanic
Teens 12 – 17: 88 % viewed an average of 4.8 messages /week.
Adults 25 – 54: 84 % viewed an average of 4.8 messages /week.

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[12] Findings regarding the effectiveness of Phase I were presented to Congress in September 1998 and March 1999, see *Testing the Anti-Drug Message in 12 American Cities: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase I (Report No. 1)*, September 1998 and *(Report No. 2*, March 1999.
[13] Ibid.

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The anti-drug campaign's messages also began to influence attitudes. The percentage of youth who agreed that the ads "made them stay away from drugs" increased from 61 percent to 69 percent. The percentage reporting they "learned a lot about the dangers of drugs" from TV commercials also increased from 44 to 52 percent.[14]

The campaign's pervasive presence has also been manifested in increased demand for anti-drug information. Since the national launch of the campaign in July of 1998, inquiries received by the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information (NCADI) have increased dramatically. The number of inquiries received between July 1998 and June 1999 increased by 159 percent over the corresponding 1997-1998 period. NCADI also responded to 102 percent more requests for information and distributed more than sixteen million items between July 1998 and June 1999. On peak days – which corresponded with specific anti-drug campaign events (e.g. an article in *Parade* magazine, media coverage of national launch, and media "roadblocks") – requests surged by 367 percent over pre-campaign levels. Per month Internet requests for substance abuse information have increased tenfold since July 1998.[15]

During Phase II, the campaign exceeded its **pro-bono match** requirements; we accomplished 109 percent of the media match at a value of $183 million. We formed partnerships with seven television networks that have produced their own anti-drug PSA's consistent with campaign themes. We attained more than 168 million pro-bono Internet impressions. The campaign's strategic messages have been supported in more than 150 TV programs have incorporated science-based anti-drug story lines on screen.

B. Additional indicators of success

No child or adult "influencer" is being left behind. The campaign is reaching minority youth and parents at unprecedented levels, delivering $33 million worth of anti-drug messages. By any standard, this is the strongest multi-cultural communications effort ever launched by the Federal government; it rivals that of most corporate efforts. ONDCP is the largest governmental advertiser in African-American newspapers. We have developed campaign materials in eleven languages and have anti-drug Internet sites in six languages.

Private sector support is exceeding ONDCP's goals and expectations. The anti-drug campaign's target is a one-for-one match; for every taxpayer dollar we spend, the law requires an equal added dollar's worth of anti-drug public service, *pro bono* activity. The campaign's **private sector match** is now at the 112 percent level (or $131 million gross) for the broadcast industry (matches of ad time on TV and radio). Since July 1998, over 196,000 national and local broadcast (TV and radio) PSA's have run because of the campaign. In addition to the pro bono match, we have received over $72 million of corporate in-kind support.

[14] ONDCP submitted an evaluation of Phase II to both Congressional Committees on Appropriations. See *Investing in our Nation's Youth: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase II Final Report*, June 1999.
[15] SAMHSA/NCADI briefing to ONDCP Director Barry McCaffrey, September 2, 1999.

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Through this integrated campaign we are reaching young people throughout their lives not just through television ads. The number of Internet hits to ONDCP's campaign site, *www.projectknow.com*, has reached over 5.5 million impressions. The number of campaign Internet advertising impressions (ad "banners" on web sites) has reached an astounding 203,579,175 total. National outlets, such as *USA Today*, *the New York Times*, *Parade Magazine*, and *Scholastic* are developing school-based anti-drug materials for distribution to our nation's schools.

We are reaching nearly every single American child on a regular basis with anti-drug information. We buy advertising in 2,250 media outlets nationwide (newspaper, TV, radio, magazines, billboards, movie theaters, and others). We deliver this information in front of them at a rate that exceeds our goals. From the start of the anti-drug campaign through September 1999, roughly 25 billion teen and adult anti-drug message impressions.

1. Adolescent drug use declined 13 percent between 1997 and 1998 (1998 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse).

2. The percentage of 13-18 year olds strongly agreeing with the statement "kids who are really cool don't use drugs," increased from 35 percent in 1998 to 40 percent in 1999 (Partnership for a Drug-Free America, 1999 Partnership Attitude Tracking Study).

3. The teenage belief that "most people will try marijuana sometime" declined to 35 percent in 1999, from 40 percent in 1998 and 41 percent in 1997 (Partnership for a Drug-Free America, 1999 Partnership Attitude Tracking Study).

4. In 1999, 63 percent of teens reported parents were talking to them about the risks of drug use, up from 53 percent in 1998 (Center on Substance Abuse and Addiction, 1999 Back to School Survey).

5. The number of young people reporting that their schools were drug free increased from 31 percent in 1998 to 44 percent in 1999 (Center on Substance Abuse and Addiction, 1999 Back to School Survey).

6. The percentage of students who agree strongly with the statement "Marijuana Users Are Popular" declined from 17% in 1998 to 10% in 1999 (Partnership for a Drug-Free America, 1999 Partnership Attitude Tracking Study).

7. Additionally, the number of parents that talk to their kids about drugs increased from 44 to 57%. (Partnership for a Drug-Free America, 1999 Partnership Attitude Tracking Study).

The campaign is getting the nation's attention and getting a response. Based on expert analysis of drug-use trends and media campaign impacts, we do not expect to see appreciable impacts on drug use until two years into the campaign. However, we are already seeing some behavioral impacts. We are already seeing changes in certain more easily tracked behaviors, such as the demand for anti-drug information.

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IV: PHASE III SHOWS GREATEST PROMISE AND BUILDS ON LESSONS LEARNED IN PHASES I & II

PHASE III. (July 1999 - Present) Our broad-based advertising effort continues to exceed planned message delivery rates. As a result of the leverage the campaign is providing to other organizations and causes through the required pro-bono matches, we are increasing the number reach of the campaign.

Teens 12 – 17:	
Paid	91 % viewed an average of 4.4 messages /week.
Paid & anti-drug match	95 % viewed an average of 5.2 messages /week.
Paid & all match	95 % viewed an average of 8.3 messages /week.
Adults 25 – 54:	
Paid	82 % viewed an average of 3.5messages /week.
Paid & anti-drug match	92 % viewed an average of 3.7 messages /week.
Paid & all match	95 % viewed an average of 5.9 messages /week.

A. Lessons Learned; Aspects Strengthened

The lessons learned from the campaign became enhancements and changes implemented in Phase III. They can be grouped in four categories: Innovation, Productivity and Cost Efficiency, Effectiveness and Integration.

1. Innovation

A truly effective innovative idea incorporates "new" and "fresh" concepts with a strong strategic focus. With the help of our contractors, the media plan and buy forged alliances and partnerships with key industries and segments, such as our partnership with the music industry and PBS via "Sessions at West 54th Street." Ogilvy created a first-ever Print Roadblock for May 2000, gathering support from an influential organization (the Magazine Publishers of America).

Prior to Phase III, campaign messages appeared simultaneously across a wide variety of communications platforms. Our current Media Flighting plan implements a Message Platform Strategy, which provided focused levels of exposure for each communications strategy and easier awareness tracking.

2. Productivity and Cost Efficiency

To stretch the taxpayer dollar, we employed smaller space units in newspapers to expand depth of coverage leading to an extremely efficient media plan. Through tough and persistent negotiations, the government saved over $25 million versus marketplace media rates. This was accomplished despite formidable hurdles such as strong demand for television inventory. With excellent support from our contractors, we exceeded Communications Goals against all targets, despite a competitive media marketplace and a $10million decrease in spending.

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Prior to Phase III, a formal media research tool had not been utilized to measure the effective of specific media types. For Phase III, we have initiated leading-edge media research, econometric analysis, and measurement tools to measure media productivity, offer strategic and tactical accountability, and provide accurate, sophisticated media delivery data

3. Effectiveness

Improvements are constantly being made as we gain experience with the campaign, including the recommendation of a new media partner to maintain the "Freevibe" youth targeted web site. The Media Campaign's family of websites has achieved a combined 11.3 million page views in 1999 and the first half of 2000. The antidrug.com is available in six languages, and provides specific tips and parenting skills to an average of 120,000 visitors a month. Over 5,000 parents have signed up for biweekly parenting tips via email since that feature became available in May.

A June 2000 report from the Annenberg project shows that, for or the first time, the number of homes with children under 17 with Internet subscriptions SURPASSES the number of homes with children under 17 with newspaper subscriptions. What was a "new" media just a few years ago is clearly mainstream today. We must continue to expand our web-based components to optimize the Campaign's success.

4. Integration

ONDCP now has a more fully integrated approach to the media campaign through several important initiatives:

(a) Message Platform Flighting: Media has been scheduled to coincide with key creative messaging platform strategies for both youth and adults

(b) Branding: The branding approach has been executed in media via the above flighting strategy, where all media within a particular series of weeks run the branded effort.

(c) Grass Roots Initiatives: Through a series of locally focused programs such as MSG, Women's World Cup Soccer, and various local broadcast initiatives, the buying group has integrated strong media buys with highly visible local programs such as school visits to effectively reach the nation's youth and parents. These programs have also enlisted high profile sports stars, previously unavailable to ONDCP, to appear in PSA's for anti-drug messaging.

* We have initiated a series of programs from the *Weekly Reader* inserts to an expansion of the *New York Times* in Education program, which successfully integrate anti-drug messaging with in-school lesson plans.

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Continued development of partnerships with news media, the entertainment industry, sports, civic, community, faith, and professional groups: We are excited about a new partnership with *The Hollywood Reporter* -- a daily newspaper that delivers news coverage and in-depth stories to industry professionals around the world: it is one of the "must read" publications in entertainment. They have agreed to work with the Campaign to develop a series of workshops that will support our education efforts on the topic of substance abuse.

B. Phase III Pro Bono Match

The projected match total for Phase III (July 1999-June 2000) is $138 million, achieving a 107 percent match for appropriated funds.

CONCLUSION

The campaign is firmly grounded in science. The hallmark of this effort has been the integrity of it research base. Among those consulted by ONDCP in the design and implementation of the campaign are experts in behavior change, drug prevention, teen marketing, and communications as well as representatives from professional, civic, and community organizations. The anti-drug media campaign will be continually monitored and evaluated by the National Institute on Drug Abuse and its contractors, Westat Corporation, and the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications. ONDCP has programmed $23.709 million over the past two years to support this front-loaded research and evaluation strategy.

We are creating an anti-drug environment. In less than two years, drug prevention has become extremely visible in the lives of America's youngsters and their parents. From network television advertisements to school-based educational materials, from youth soccer tournaments to Internet websites, and from community coalition activities to the YMCA and Boys and Girls Clubs, the campaign's messages reach Americans wherever they are.

Bipartisan congressional support is the backbone of the campaign. ONDCP appreciates the brilliant leadership of all the members of Congress who have provided continuous oversight for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. The commitment of Congress to this anti-drug campaign has made possible a seamless transition from a twelve-city test phase, to a year of nationwide testing and evaluation, and now a fully integrated media communications effort. We are grateful to all subcommittee members for your support of the campaign and our broader efforts to reduce drug use and its consequences in America.

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APPENDIX I: KEY NON-GOVERNMENTAL PARTICIPANTS

1. The Partnership for a Drug-Free America (PDFA)

The **Partnership for a Drug-Free America** is a private, non-profit, non-partisan coalition of professionals from the communications industry. Best known for its national, anti-drug advertising campaign, its mission is to reduce demand for illicit drugs in America through media communication. PDFA has generated more than $2.8 billion in media exposure and created more than five hundred anti-drug ads. Its long-standing national campaign is the single, largest, public service ad campaign in history. For twelve years, PDFA's process was the paradigm for a public service campaign. No other organization was as successful in generating high-quality free ads and placing them pro-bono in the media.

PDFA is our campaign partner. Mr. Jim Burke, Chairman of the Partnership has been one of the strongest advocates for this public-private media campaign. The Partnership had concluded that intense competition, brought on by the splintering of the media, brought new economic realities to the media industry in the 1990s. It became quite clear to PDFA that the glory days of 1989 and 1990 - when its combined, estimated media exposure reached $1 million a day - were simply not going to return. Indeed, with media donations to the Partnership down by more than $100 million since 1991, the outlook for national media giving was not at all promising. The ONDCP campaign promised something unprecedented for PDFA's public service advertising effort: precise placement of the right ads, targeting the right audience, running in the right media, consistently, over time. With first-rate anti-drug messages produced by advertising agencies through PDFA's creative process, that is exactly what the campaign is now delivering. Presently, PDFA has developed 37 television commercials, 36 print ads, and 21 radio spots for parents ad 37 TV commercials, 35 print ads, and 35 radio spots for youth.

2. The Advertising Council

The **Advertising Council** is a private, non-profit organization, which has been the largest producer of Public Service communications programs in the United States since 1942. The Advertising Council's mission "*is to identify a select number of significant public issues and stimulate action on those issues through communications programs that make a measurable difference in our society.*" To that end, the Ad Council marshals volunteer resources from the advertising and communications industries, the media, and the business and non-profit communities for the public good. As the nation's largest producer of PSA's, the Ad Council has created more than 1,000 multi-media public service advertising campaigns addressing critical issues.[16] During 1998 alone, the Ad Council advertising received $1.2 billion in donated media in support of these efforts.

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[16] Ad Council campaigns, characters and slogans are more than memorable -- they raise awareness, inspire individuals to take action and save lives. Campaigns the Ad Council has conducted include Smokey Bear and his famous words of wisdom, "Only you can prevent forest

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The Ad Council performs three crucial tasks in support of the anti-drug media campaign on a pro-bono basis.

- ✓ Oversees the National Media Match Clearinghouse.
- ✓ Reviews Cost For All Production.
- ✓ Creating an Anti-Drug Coalition Recruitment Campaign.

3. Fleishman-Hillard

Fleishman-Hillard is one of the largest and best-respected communications firms in the world. Fleishman-Hillard has a 53-year history of delivering results for some of the world's best-known brands like McDonalds, Wal-Mart Levi-Strauss and United Airlines. It is no accident they represent nearly a fifth of the top 100 of *Fortune* magazine's annual list of "Most Admired Companies". Their network of eighteen fully owned domestic agency offices and more than 850 employees are ready to support the needs of this challenging campaign.

For the fifth year in a row, a 1999 Harris-Impulse Poll rated Fleishman-Hillard as having the best reputation of any of the major public relations firms. This year they also rated Fleishman-Hillard as the top agency in the Washington, DC market. It is also the only agency to be ranked either first or second for overall quality of service by the industry's leading trade publication, *Inside PR,* for nine consecutive years.

The Fleishman-Hillard team has managed research-based social marketing and communications efforts for non-profit organizations and partnerships to educate Americans about health and social issues ranging from safe food handling, improving nutritional content in Americans' diet, to protecting our children from danger online.

Fleishman-Hillard performs the following task for the media campaign:

- ✓ **Media outreach,** to generate earned media placements of key campaign messages, and improve accuracy in coverage of facts and issues to educate the media about youth drug use.
- ✓ **Partnerships and alliance building** with government, non-profit, professional, community and civic organizations designed to reach members of the target audiences with credible campaign messages and other programmatic activities to extend the impact of campaign messages.

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fires," (USDA Forest Service); "Friends don't let friends drive drunk" (DOT/NHTSA) McGruff the Crime Dog, who urged Americans to "Take a bite out of crime," (National Crime Prevention Council); and "A mind is a terrible thing to waste" (United Negro College Fund).

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- ✓ **Internet and other "new media" activities** including strategic analysis and use of "new media"; web site design and maintenance; coordination with Internet advertising; other Internet, CD-ROM, and other interactive activities capable of delivering high impact campaign messages or coordinating campaign stakeholders.

- ✓ **Outreach to, and collaboration with, the entertainment industry** including television, movies, music, interactive games for the purpose of encouraging media depictions that "de-normalize" drug use and accurately portraying the negative consequences of drug use.

- ✓ **Graphics support and materials development** for press kits, fact sheets, publications, exhibits, and coordination of materials development by partner organizations.

- ✓ **Meeting and event planning** support on an as-needed basis.

- ✓ **Stakeholder communications** including a BI-monthly newsletter update letters, meetings and briefings, interactive media, and other communications to keep stakeholders abreast of developments in the campaign and to generate further involvement and support.

4. Ogilvy & Mather

Ogilvy & Mather is one of the largest and most respected advertising companies in the world.[17] Ogilvy's media company, "**MindShare**", is by far the largest media organization in the world ($16 billion in worldwide billings). Ogilvy buys more national broadcast media in the U.S. than any other company and is the nation's number one radio buyer. Ogilvy's interactive company, **OgilvyOne**, is the largest purchaser of Internet advertising in the world. The company is also third largest print buyer in the country. These factors give Ogilvy significant negotiating leverage, which results in the lowest possible market rates and access to substantial and unique media match opportunities.

Ogilvy & Mather performs the following tasks in support of the anti-drug media campaign.

- ✓ Media planning and buying.

- ✓ Oversight, negotiation, and implementation of media match.

- ✓ Internet media planning and buying.

- ✓ Strategic planning and consumer research.

[17] Ogilvy's 377 offices in 98 countries service more Fortune 500 clients in 5 or more countries than any other advertising agency.

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- ✓ Creative development for advertising "gaps."
- ✓ Development of advertising copy rotation plans.
- ✓ Trafficking all advertising materials to media outlets.
- ✓ Management of the Behavior Change Expert Panel (BCEP).
- ✓ Management of six multicultural subcontractors.
- ✓ Management of three target audience specialist subcontractors.

In its role as the primary advertising contractor on the ONDCP contract, Ogilvy offers added value to both ONDCP and PDFA in the following areas:

Media Planning and Buying. With buying leverage based on handling the world's largest aggregate media budget and widely acknowledged planning and buying expertise, Ogilvy can secure the highest quality media for the lowest possible price. It is three-to eight times cheaper than a normal commercial advertiser. Moreover, Ogilvy's media plans and buys are creative and savvy, selectively identifying effective, intrusive and relevant vehicles from the plethora of media opportunities available to a contemporary advertiser

Ogilvy's superior media planning and buying enables PDFA to achieve greater exposure than they have ever had in their history, in addition getting more television in better time slots.

Creative Executions. The pre-testing, planning, and research regimen that Ogilvy is working to put in place greatly raises the odds of developing more effective creative material that will help prevent drug use among youth. Pre-testing will help hone specific messages, while generating learning that will inform ad creators. Ogilvy manages an array of planning resources – from full-time agency planning staff to Target Audience Specialists to the BCEP – that provide invaluable input to the creative development process. No private sector marketer would mount an effort of this scope without conducting such extensive research.

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Strategic Counsel. Ogilvy's strategic and planning resources not only have enhanced the creative message: they have also improved the development and implementation of the overall marketing plan. **Branding** and **flighting** are two useful examples.

Branding is universally acknowledged --- by sophisticated marketers and leading advertisers --- as the way to ensure long-term, sustainable success, and to multiply the impact of advertising dollars. Branding increases consumer mind share of anti-drug messages; maximizes the impact of advertising dollars; creates synergy between advertising and non-advertising messages; and unites an organization's messages. Branding is a business proven concept. Ogilvy's four-month Brand Stewardship research process (which entailed interviewing adults and youth of all ethnicities) led to the adoption by ONDCP of "*The Anti-Drug*" As the campaign's brand. Phone call response to the new branded ads has been excellent.

Ogilvy's **flighting** plan will enable ONDCP to focus all elements of the integrated communications plan on strategic message platforms that have been identified by ONDCP's behavior expert panel. As opposed to the first two phases, each individual platform will receive sufficient media exposure to change attitudes and ultimately behavior. Moreover, disparate local coalitions and community efforts can work synergistically with this focused national campaign to increase the effectiveness of the effort. PDFA and its Creative Review Committee have endorsed this strategic approach.

Multicultural Resources. Both ONDCP and PDFA have gained access through Ogilvy to substantial multicultural resources, from target audience specialists to ethnic advertising experts. Indeed, Ogilvy's subcontractors have helped PDFA develop much of the work that has been created to address critical ethnic "gaps."

Accountability. Ogilvy has helped ONDCP fulfill its responsibility to the public and its mandate from Congress that the National Youth Anti-Drug media effort be a completely transparent operation. Through sophisticated and proprietary methodologies such as econometric analysis of and initiatives like the Tracking Study, Ogilvy will be able to monitor the campaign's successes and failures – and refine and improve its execution.

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APPENDIX II: Media Match "Roadblock" Contents

1. Advertorials

-Good Housekeeping
-Better Homes & Gardens
-Life
-People (5/15/00)
-Sports Illustrated (5/8/00)
-Sporting News (5/10/00)
-Time (5/8/00)

2. General Market Adults

-Coach & Athletic Director
-Entertainment Weekly (5/19/00)
-Family Circle (5/9/00)
-Family Life
-Ladies' Home Journal
-National Geographic
-Newsweek (5/8/00, editorial)
-Prevention
-Readers Digest
-Scouting
-Time (5/15/00, editorial)
-TV Guide (5/13/00 & 5/20/00)

3. General Market Teens

-All About You
-Box
-DC Comics
-Game Pro
-Girl's Life
-Marvel Comics
-React (5/1/00, editorial)
-Scholastic (5/8/00, editorial)
-Seventeen (editorial)
-Skateboarder
-Sports Illustrated for Kids
-Teen
-Teen People
-WWF

4. African American Adults

-American Legacy
-American Vision
-BET Weekend
-Black College Today
-Black Diaspora (editorial)
-Essence
-Opportunity Journal
-The New Crisis

5. African American Teens

-Black Beat
-Blaze
-Right On
-Sister 2 Sister (editorial)
-Vibe
-Word Up

6. Hispanic Adults

-Glamour en Espanol
-Hispanic Magazine
-Latina
-People en Espanol
-Ser Padres
-Vista

7. Hispanic Teens

-La Banda Elastica
-Cinemania
-Generation ñ
-Latin Girl
-Teen en Espanol

APPENDIX III: 51 Organizations Benefiting from Participation in the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Match

1. 100 Black Men
2. Administration for Children and Families/Health and Human Services (*Parental Responsibility*)
3. Alanon/Alateen
4. American Symphony Orchestra League
5. America's Promise
6. Americorps
7. Big Brothers Big Sisters of America
8. Boys and Girls Club
9. Boys Town USA
10. Center for Juvenile and Criminal Justice/Justice Policy Institute
11. Center for Substance Abuse Prevention/Health and Human Services
12. Center for Substance Abuse Treatment/Health and Human Services
13. Centers for Disease Control
14. Children Now/Kaiser Family Foundation (*Talking with Kids about Tough Issues*)
15. Citizenship Through Sports Alliance
16. Community Schools for Excellence
17. Connect for Kids (*The Benton Foundation*)
18. Country Music Association
19. Education Excellence Partnership
20. Educational Testing Service
21. El Valor/Parents as First Teachers
22. Girl Scouts of the USA
23. Give a Kid a Hand/International Advertising Association
24. Harvard Mentoring Project
25. Hepatitis Foundation International
26. Kids Peace
27. Library of Congress
28. Mentoring USA

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"Snapshots" of Organizations Benefiting from Participation in The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

Numerous public-benefit organizations have benefited from their participation in the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Data is limited to those organizations that have the resources to track and measure campaign results and, the results cannot be solely attributed to the incremental exposure these PSA's receive from the Match. However, the results are impressive and encompass a variety of issues affecting youth and can certainly be attributed in large part to the increased reach and frequency generated by the national TV, cable and radio schedules.

1. National Fatherhood Initiative

Campaign Objective: *To highlight the importance of fathers to the well being of children, and to provide men with the information they need to become better fathers.*

Results:

- Media dollar values increased 384% in 1999 compared to prior year
- Quote from letter dated 1/11/00: "...the National Fatherhood Initiative experiences an exceptionally high spike of calls in the months following each (match reel) release." (Wade F. Horn, President, The National Fatherhood Initiative)
- Calls to the 800# increased from an average of 1,000 per month (prior to the match) to an average of 2,099 per month (during participation in the match). April 1999 was the single largest one month call volume - 3,478.

2. Save the Children USA

Campaign Objective: *To make a lasting change in the lives of disadvantaged children by providing much-needed caring adults as mentors.*

Results:

- In 1999, the media values for this PSA campaign were almost double the average Ad Council campaign's donated media value.
- 28,000 calls to the toll free number in 1999 from prospective mentors and 21% of callers during that period became mentors. Save the Children projects that nearly 6,000 youth have received mentors as a result of the PSA campaign.
- Quote from letter dated 3/17/99: "... 40% more people called the toll-free Mentoring Hotline featured in the ads in February ('99) than in January ('99)..." (Catherine Milton, Vice President, Save the Children)

3. KidsPeace (TeenCentral.Net)

Campaign Objective: *TeenCentral.Net is a website designed and developed by top experts to provide teens with a safe, 24-hour, anonymous and personalized resource to help them work out problems specific to teens. The site links teens to individually selected stories provided by other teens and responses to the stories.*

Results:

- During first quarter 2000, there were 5,297,610 web hits, which are 250,000 more hits than received in all of 1999. Similarly, net sessions for first quarter 2000 were nearly 50,000 greater than all of 1999.
- Quotes from letter dated 5/5/00: "...the number of teen stories and responses has sky rocketed." "...increase in numbers can only be a result of being involved in the Campaign." "You (General McCaffrey) and your efforts have helped thousands of teens across the United States..." (Joe Vallone, Executive VP for Strategic Advancement, KidsPeace)

4. Office of Child Support Enforcement, Administration for Children and Families, Dept. of Health and Human Services (Parental Responsibility Campaign)

Campaign Objective: *Substantially increase voluntary compliance of child support by increasing awareness of the responsibility and elevating the importance of non-custodial fathers.*

Results:

- In 1999, the media values for this PSA campaign were above the Ad Council campaign average.
- Quote from 2/1/00 letter: "Based on the hundreds of e-mails, letters and phone calls we have been receiving, we know it (the campaign PSA's) is being seen." (Michael Kharfen, Director, Office of Public Affairs)

5. National 4-H Council

Campaign Objective: Encourage *kids and/or their parents to call the 888 number or visit the website to find out more information about local volunteer activities and how they can participate in their communities.*

Results:

- In 1999, the media values for this PSA campaign were above the Ad Council campaign average.
- From 1998 to 1999, there was a 20% increase in volunteerism, service learning & community service (the activities of the organization).

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6. National Crime Prevention Council (Adult, Teen & Youth targeted PSA's)

Results:

- Over 3X the average media value of an Ad Council campaign during 1999.
- Hits to the website (user sessions) increased 37% from Jan.'00 to May '00.
- Quote from 3/22.99 letter: "You and your staff have taken great pains to engage NCPC and other organizations to assure the greatest food for all within the public service community." (John A. Calhoun, Executive Director, NCPC)

7. Education Excellence Partnership

Campaign Objective: To *obtain and sustain support for the implementation of state academic standards.*

Results:

- Above average media values in 1999 compared to average Ad Council campaign.
- Hits to website increased 746% from 1998 to 1999.
- Quote from 3/18/99 letter: "...our donated media in 1998 more than doubled what we received in 1997. We attribute some of that increase to our inclusion in the media match for your ONDCP campaign." (Susan Trainan, Director, Education Initiative, The Business Roundtable)

8. National Action Council for Minorities and Engineering

Campaign Objective: To *encourage students to elect to continue high math courses in order to enjoy more diverse, rewarding and successful career opportunities.*

Results:

- Cable media values increased 262% in 1999 compared to the previous year.
- Quote from 4/4/00 letter: "Last year's exposure (in the media match) had a great impact on calls to our toll free number and we expect the same to be true for 2000." "While we averaged approximately 20,000 calls to 1-800-NACME annually, more than 45,000 people visited the website in the first three months (2000)!" (B. Dundee Holt, VP Public Information, NACME)

9. American Symphony Orchestra League

Campaign Objective: To *encourage youth to play music because playing music or playing sports can help deter children from destructive habits and behaviors and help build self-esteem.*

Results:

- Quote from 3/6/00 letter: "Because of the PSA exposure since January 1999, our children's website, playmusic.org, has received close to nine million hits and thousands of e-mail messages from youngsters, many of whom have told us they have started playing an instrument or joined a youth orchestra or music camp as a result." (Charles S. Olton, President & CEO, American Symphony Orchestra League)

10. Boys Town

Campaign Objective: *To drive traffic to the national hotline for troubled children and teens.*

Results:

- Call volume increased 5% in 1999 from the previous year. "This may not seem significant but when you compare it to previous years with decreases of 14%-20%, any increase is outstanding!" (Ginny Gohr, Manager, Boys Town National Hotline, from letter dated 4/24/00)

11. PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON PHYSICAL FITNESS AND SPORTS

Campaign Objective: To *encourage increasingly sedentary generations of children and teens to make physical activity a lifetime habit. It seeks to portray physical activity as not just healthy, but fun.*

Results:

- Quote from 3/19/99 letter: "Our efforts with The Ad Council received over $40 million worth of donated media in 1998 - double our 1997 value in large part due to incremental exposure from ONDCP's media match." (Sandra Perlmutter, Executive Director)

12. RADD (Recording Artists, Actors and Athletes Against Drunk Driving)

Campaign Objective: Drunk *driving is discouraged through a series of PSAs from celebrity actors, artists and athletes (many of which appeal to teens).*

Results:

- Quote from 1/17/00 letter: "...during the 1998-9 holiday season which marked RADD's first inclusion in ONDCP's Media Match airplay skyrocketed and has continued to do so throughout 1999." (Erin Dugan Meluso, President)

13. Prevent Child Abuse America

Campaign Objective: *To encourage the public to value and nurture children, thus building good self-esteem and preventing child abuse and neglect.*

Results:

- +339% increase in media dollar values in 1999 compared to 1998.
- Quote from 3/15/99 letter: "This (the match) provided the invaluable service of drawing public attention to a serious issue." (A. Sidney Johnson III, Executive Director)

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Mr. MICA. Thank you.

I will start with several questions and then yield to other Members.

First of all, we do have concern about getting to the target area and population that is most affected right now. Mr. Cummings brought up the fact of the impact particularly on African-American youth and also Hispanic youth.

I notice from the statistics you gave us from the evaluation that one of the lowest frequencies sort of hits on this coverage appears to be the Hispanic population which has also been very heavily impacted. Is there some mechanism in place now to readjust the frequency of these ads and the targeting of these ads to the groups most affected.

We are seeing again a dramatic rise with some of the minority population in drug use and abuse but it doesn't look like we are hitting the mark with one of those populations, at least the one provided to the subcommittee.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Your concern is one I share. We are certainly paying a lot of attention to it. This is a $36 million effort in multicultural media plan focus. We have 11 subcontractors. It is the largest multicultural, ongoing program by the U.S. Government. We are getting 86 percent of the Hispanic audience 3.7 times a week but we are worried. There is a tougher group to reach which is the Native American population.

It is not just getting to them with a credible message but finding ways to evaluate it, to know who is hearing and reading what we are doing. We do focus on Hispanics. Seventeen Hispanic magazines carry our ads in them and we think we will get a better impact in the coming year. It is complex getting to Chinese-American populations, Samoan populations, Native Americans. We have to be very worried about it.

Mr. MICA. We have some concern about the minority populations and the statistics we are seeing, particularly Hispanics which shows the lowest frequency.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. And one of the highest expenditures I might add.

Mr. MICA. Again, my question is we need some mechanism to change or some other way to get to that affected population.

One of the other concerns is you presented the indicators of success in 12 to 17 year olds—inhalant use down, cocaine use down, marijuana use down. I pulled the CDC records and this is from 1997–1998, "Youth Risk Behavior Trends," it does assess this every 2 years. In fact current cocaine use, if we take 1997–1999, went from 3.3 to 4 percent. Maybe you can provide the subcommittee with an explanation or maybe a more up to date analysis of what is happening. In the cocaine use specifically, this shows an increase among the youth.

Would you like to respond or provide us an answer?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I think probably it would be useful if we sat down and wrote you an answer. The CDC report, the bottom line is, 1991 to 1999 and our statement tracks the last 2 years.

Mr. MICA. I have 1997 and 1999.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. They are two different studies. I can't respond.

Mr. MICA. If you could look at that because we are very concerned.

The other thing that concerns me in conducting the hearings around the country is inhalant use may be down and marijuana may be down in these populations. We are seeing an absolute incredible explosion in things that aren't even on these charges—methamphetamine.

I think they told us in Dallas in the last 2 years, 1,000 labs had been busted. We were in Iowa 2 weeks ago and 800 labs for production of this stuff—we didn't even have method figures.

In my area, we held a hearing on club drugs, ecstasy, GHB, all of these new designer drugs which are absolutely exploding among young people.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Steroids and performance enhancing drugs as well.

Mr. MICA. Yes. Are we keeping up with the problem. I am very convinced what we are doing is necessary but are we keeping up with what is happening with our young people.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. There is no question the drug threat our children face is dynamic. It is not today what it was 10 years ago or 5 years ago. Drugs like GHB or PCP, methamphetamines, high purity heroin, I would almost term them new drugs. If it is 6 percent purity, you have to inject it; if it is 50 percent purity, you can stick it up your nose which is why kids are dropping dead in Plano, TX and Orlando, FL and other places.

We also have to change our prevention media campaign to take into account those dynamics. It doesn't happen everywhere in the country at the same time. There is not a national drug problem. There are only a series of community drug epidemics, so we have to shape the message in Hawaii to be quite different than the one in Orlando.

Mr. MICA. These charts were provided to us by the Sentencing Commission. It shows 1992 with crack in yellow. This is to 1994, 1995 and methamphetamine is not even on the chart in the beginning and we get down to 1999, we have an incredible increase in crack and methamphetamine that just about covers the whole Nation. It is new drugs that are out there. Is the program effective in targeting these new drugs is my question?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. And I think the answer is yes, we are taking into account the evolving drug threat. We have new ads coming out on ecstacy in August. The Web site initiative clearly gets to that kind of problem. We are trying to provide feedback to the entertainment industry so they are aware of the new evolving threat. We have a public information campaign going on and we are creating methamphetamine ads which will be on the air.

Crack use is probably not up, except in a few localities. Methamphetamine has spread dramatically from a California-based drug threat to now almost the dominant drug problem in the Midwest, the far western States, Hawaii and Georgia. It is spreading.

We do have a methamphetamine strategy. We have updated this strategy. We have resources and research and education. We have law enforcement initiatives. We are going to try to do to methamphetamines what we didn't do to cocaine in the 1980's when it devastated America and left us with 3.6 million chronic co-

caine addicts. We are going to try to make sure 10 years from now, when my daughter is the drug policy director, we won't be looking back on this era and saying we ignored it for 5 years and it got out of control.

Mr. MICA. There has been controversy over the editing and reviewing of TV scripts before they aired. I would like to know your response to the question if they were reviewed by the White House prior to airing?

I also understand you are on the verge of publishing new clarifying guidelines on the media match component of the campaign. Maybe you could provide the subcommittee with the status?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I tried to address it during my opening statement. I have a chart available. We have already published new pro bono match guidelines. We sent them out to the industry for comment. We are preparing to send copies of these revised guidelines around the country to our stakeholders. They are on the Web. I want to make sure we listen to our stakeholders and we can evolve these further if there are different viewpoints. So far they have passed muster with the people they went to.

I think the only thing I would say that we have clarified is to ensure there is no question in the minds of producers and writers—that there will be no decision by Ogilvy Mather on granting pro bono matching credit to a program content until after it has been aired. That should be the assumption prior to, as well as following, publication of these revised guidelines.

I think it was very helpful, the uproar that followed the inaccurate reporting on this issue.

Mr. MICA. I will yield to Mrs. Mink at this time.

Mrs. MINK. I am interested in the ad campaign you were discussing. What was the major criticism in the way that it was handled which prompted you to put out revised guidelines?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I think one of the problems was that we have two things we are trying to do. One is sort of a mechanical process. You want to comply with the law and grant matching credit. It was 15 percent last year and you want a mechanism to do that. There has to be some filter. Is it science-based. It has to be clear that Ogilvy Mather, the contractor, will do that in accordance with published industry standards. That has to be acceptable to the creative people of America.

Then you have a second thing you are trying to achieve. The Congress gave us more than $600 million last year to fund the National Institute on Drug Abuse, so we want to make this information available to a writer, producer, director so they can be better informed on how to craft their own messages about drugs. That means NIDA has to continue as the Department of Defense does to provide feedback to the creative industries.

We have them separated and we have a published document now that hopefully will clarify that.

Mrs. MINK. It was the involvement of the Government in assessing whether to grant them that exception, was it not. It was not a criticism of Ogilvy in terms of their professional work but it was the insertion of the Government?

Mr. McCaffrey. Right and that part seemed to be completely overstated. There was no government manipulation of scripts. That just wasn't happening.

Mrs. MINK. Now that you have changed the guidelines, how do you protect against that in the guidelines?

Mr. McCaffrey. I think saying no one will review matching credit until after it has been shown is a healthy thing. I think when you read the guidelines, it says the science-based feedback is separate from the process of granting pro bono credit. That is a good clarification. I think the fact the scrutiny was brought to bear on the subject is more than appropriate.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I might add to get a little balance with this, we have a pretty good working relationship with the television industry and the print media in America. They weren't over here raising cain about this. ABC testified in front of Congressman Kolbe's committee, their TV executives did, about the program matching content. He called a hearing specifically on this issue and they testified saying it is OK.

I think what happened was the way it was reported initially, on a Friday, of a long weekend, without much news, talking about a secret program, government money buys industry compliance. That was not what was actually happening.

Mrs. MINK. It is exactly that point that gives me some concern because I had come to the conclusion reading those discussions that this was a program that was conducted completely in accordance with the standards of the industry. Now you are saying, we are reacting and we have new guidelines. So that is the reason for my question. Why change the guidelines if there was nothing wrong in the first place?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I think the guidelines we published are helpful. I think the fact we won't review again until after it airs makes it quite clear. There is still the concern on the part of many, does the fact you are getting matching guidelines credit back into the creative process. I think the creative industry would say no, that is laughable. They don't want government interference in a free and open and creative process and I think we feel the same way.

Ms. MINK. On the methamphetamine issue which is very critical in my State, you said earlier you are developing a strategy to attack this new crisis. Can you elaborate on what that strategy is in terms of the media campaign to reach the constituencies affected, particularly the children?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. We have a strategy. In 1997, Tom Constantine, of the DEA really got it rolling. We brought in the whole country's law enforcement people. We tried to learn about this horrifying thing that was happening in front of us. We then had a regional conference in California, which is where the problem was the worst, to learn what California authorities thought was happening. We had Senator Dianne Feinstein and Attorney General Dan Lungren there.

Then we had a national methamphetamine conference in Omaha, NE following which Janet Reno and I produced the national methamphetamine strategy. We had a new law passed in Congress that described what was against the law. A year later, I revised the national methamphetamine strategy.

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There is a prevention component, an education component, a law enforcement component.

Mrs. MINK. I am referring to specifically the media campaign requirements that need to be changed because of this new crisis. How are you changing it, what directions must the media take in order to specifically address this audience?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Two things. One is the media campaign—in many cases when you look at the message, the six communication strategies—including parental effectiveness, personal consequences of drug abuse—when you look at what we are trying to achieve, that message doesn't necessarily talk to a apecific drug but drugged behavior. So I think the general campaign has enormous consequences on, whether it is meth or MDMA.

We are also specifically developing methamphetamine ads, not just on television and the radio and print media but also inside the DARE Program, which has 26 million kids involved in school-based prevention activities. In every one of these areas, you will see a prevention education message.

We are going to the medical community, we have written op-eds in newspapers, so it is pretty multifaceted. We are trying to educate America on this new problem.

Mrs. MINK. If the measure of success of the media campaign is achieved by a diminution of the addiction to methamphetamine, and that doesn't occur in the next year's assessment and so forth, then you have to conclude that the media campaign is not reaching the community affected. That is what concerns me because there is this rising crisis and nothing seems to stand in its way in becoming even greater. In my community, I don't see any strategy that is specifically directed to this particular drug and its increased consumption in my State.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Let me pull together some thoughts about Hawaii and what you should see now and in the coming years on the meth strategy. I can assure you your law enforcement people are already aggressively confronting the issue. There are Web sites to educate yourself about methamphetamines in six languages—Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Korean, Spanish and English. The ecstacy radio ads will be out in August. The DARE Program will face up to this issue. So you will see a prevention education, law enforcement consultation.

We have new laws on the control of precursor chemicals, the pharmaceutical industry is working with us in a very positive manner to shrink wrap defredrin tablets. DEA is aggressively going after pharmaceutical houses that misuse their economic opportunity to sell hundreds of thousands of tablets to some storefront operation. We do think we are coming to grips with it.

The two major meth-producing nations on the face of the Earth from our perspective are Mexico and California—and both of those we are targeting. The Mexicans are horrified at this thing also. So we have a huge problem, no question. This is the worst drug that ever hit America, bar none.

Mr. MICA. Yield now to the vice chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Barr, the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. BARR. I am also concerned about methamphetamine. As a matter of fact, today in the Judiciary Committee we are taking up

the Methamphetamine Antiproliferation Act which has some problems because it contains some extraneous provisions that a number of us are concerned about.

What I hear from the folks down in Georgia, particularly out of the Atlanta office is not that we need new laws, we just are not enforcing the existing laws. I don't speak primarily about the drug laws themselves but problems with INS and what seems to be an unwillingness, given the prevalence of the methamphetamine problem involving illegal aliens, particularly in the Georgia and Atlanta areas from Mexico, to work closely and aggressively with DEA and our other law enforcement agencies in partnership with INS to use our drug and immigration laws to get these people out of our communities.

That is something I don't know the extent to which you can work on but I hear about that on a fairly regular basis from the law enforcement folks, including DEA in the Atlanta area. Any help you can be in getting INS to be more of a partner in this would certainly be appreciated.

Is the President firmly committed to this youth drug strategy? The reason I say that is as the chairman indicated, the times in which we saw a significant and sustained decrease in youth use of drugs was when we had President Reagan and Ms. Reagan out there very, very vocal on a regular basis talking about the Just Say No Programs. In the public's eye, this was obviously an important part of that administration's agenda.

That continued with President Bush who as Vice President was very active under President Reagan in getting that antidrug message out.

I look back over this administration, which has been in office almost 8 years now and you could count on less than the fingers on two hands the number of times this President has spoken out on this issue. I don't know if he prefers to do all his work outside the public eye, whether he really is committed to this, how many times you have met with him personally on this, but I suspect we are going to continue to see these problems by the tremendous efforts by you and the DEA folks. I have tremendous regard for both of your organizations.

We seem to have a President that has a funny way of showing concern about this problem, by not talking about it. Do you meet with the President on a regular basis to discuss this? Is he engaged with it? Is he firmly committed to it and what are some of the indices of that if he is?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Written into the law, and it was revised 2 years ago, I am a nonpartisan actor in government, that I am forbidden under the law to take part in electoral politics, I am not registered with either party and I didn't ask for this job. I took it because I felt it was an obligation, and because my dad told me to do it.

Having said that, I would tell you unalterably the President of the United States has backed his team. It is a team effort—Janet Reno, Donna Shalala, Dick Reilly and I are sort of the heart and soul of the effort. In the 5-years I have worked this issue, from fiscal year 1996 to fiscal year 2000, the budget went up from $13.5 billion to $19.2 billion. We increased the program on prevention

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education by 54 percent. We increased our drug treatment dollars by 32 percent. The research budget went up 36 percent. We took the drug courts and increased them from 12 to more than 750. We took the media campaign from an idea that Jim Burke and I had over a table and we are now in to our third year of a $1 billion advertising campaign. By the way, it is working.

The President's personal commitment has never been a question in my mind. He signs all of our documents. I brief him on it. His OMB Director and I have choking fights every year over the budget. I automatically appeal to the President and every year, I have gotten more money in prevention, treatment, research and so forth.

I think the team effort is there. I think the Congress of the United States voted for all this money, so there has been bipartisan effort from this committee and others—Mr. Kolbe, Mr. Hoyer, Senator Campbell and Senator Dorgan have backed us on what we have tried to do. I am extremely proud of the team effort.

Mr. BARR. I don't take issue with that. It is a team effort but when I look back at the two prior administrations and the high profile each one of our prior Presidents gave to this issue in terms of their public pronouncements and their visibility, which is an important part of it, I see why we are talking about a media campaign and the perception of engagement. The perception of caring can be very important. I just don't see that component of it.

If you could go back to the issue you talked with Mrs. Mink about, the methamphetamine strategy, is a part of that going to be some recommendations for increasing the Immigration Service's real life, actual on the street commitment to working with DEA as opposed to seeming to thwart their efforts in our communities to work the methamphetamine problem as it relates to illegal aliens?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I wouldn't know why you would characterize that problem in that manner.

Mr. BARR. It is what I hear from people. Perhaps because of my background as a U.S. Attorney I hear from these people and they let me know how things are working. These are folks at the working level in DEA and they express tremendous frustration.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I think there is no question we have a huge amount of money flowing into the southwest border. We are trying to work in cooperation with Mexico, we have increased fencing, low light TV, increased the size of the border patrol from 3,000 to over 7,000. In my view the border patrol ought to be more than 20,000 professionals who speak Spanish, who are 25 or older, fully trained, mature women and men, so we have a lot of work to do.

Congress has finally given us the tools so that the U.S. Customs Service can have the intelligence and the nonintrusive inspection technology to protect the American people in the coming years. It is going to take a long time to do this. We have a huge open border between Mexico and the United States. That is good. There are nearly 100 million Mexicans down there, they are our second biggest trading partner. This isn't North Korea, these people are part of our culture. That is all well and good. Now we have to find ways to work on respectful cooperation to enforce the law.

I agree with your concern and we have to give the Federal agencies the resources they need to do their job. I think we are moving in that direction but it is going to be painful work.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I am so pleased that Congressman Barr and I do agree on something and that is that we have a tremendous regard for you. I have said that all along. I want to say I told you so but I am not going to say that.

This methamphetamine problem isn't an immigration problem. Can you show me the map again? It looks like it is all over the place, it is not just on the border. Can you comment on that? I am confused about what Mr. Barr was saying.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I think the meth problem, probably in the addiction sense, is the worse drug we have ever seen. What it does to brain function and Dr. Alan Leshner can provide you with some pretty decent studies. One moderate dose or a year of fairly low level dosage rates may do irreparable harm to neurochemical function of the brain.

From the law enforcement perspective these people turn paranoid, start tweaking, their personality unravels, they get emaciated, their teeth rot and it is unbelievable what meth is doing to humans. It is happening Thailand, China, Japan, not just the United States. This started in California and used to be just a biker, gang thing. Now it is young White males in beautiful western States and rural communities in the midwest, Georgia and beautiful Hawaii.

The couple of thousand labs taken down in this country last year, a couple of thousand mom and pop, Bevis and Butthead idiots making methamphetamine in their hotel room, in a warehouse, leaving it in the rug, pouring it down wells, in streams. They get the recipe off the Internet, buy the materials which are common precursor chemicals, hydriatic acid, red phosphorous, ephedrine, with consequences that are devastating.

Where is it being made? Is this a Mexican problem? There is a lot of Mexican organized international crime involved. Mr. Barr is quite correct. We have to work strongly with Mexico—the Amescua brothers, the gang, this criminal organization in northwestern Mexico is responsible for a good bit of it.

There are four counties in southern California that may produce half of all the methamphetamine in the United States but there are labs everywhere. There are labs now in rural Georgia, producing a couple of ounces a day. People rotting out their noses. Children are in the places where it is being cooked and being exposed to these fumes. Never mind the paranoid behavior of their parents who are making the drug and using it.

DEA has gone aggressively after them and so have a lot of the State police. GBI is doing extremely well. I think it is organized, we are moving ahead. We do require a better prevention media campaign strategy targeted on this drug specifically, along with others now—ecstacy, MDMA. A lot of our kids don't think ecstacy is dangerous. They simply think don't drink booze, drink a lot of water, you will be just fine.

We think we are going to raise a generation of children with high vulnerability to depression if we don't persuade them to not use ecstacy.

Mr. CUMMINGS. You showed us those ads. Why did you show us those ads?

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Gen. MCCAFFREY. The girl power shows you we have incredibly creative media. That ad, I love. We have a 60 second version, a 30 second version, a version on radio. We are trying to remind everyone the drug problem isn't unique to minorities, it isn't males, it isn't city people, poor people, crazy people, it is your children, whoever you are. That includes our girls.

Mr. CUMMINGS. When I saw that ad, I couldn't help but think about the Just Say No campaign but here we were saying, just say yes. I wrote down—future, hope, dreams, power, self love, healthiness, woman power. Just from watching that little ad.

It seems there are two different types of ads. Some say this is what is going to happen to you.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Negative consequences.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Another says you have a lot to live for. Are we going more in one direction than the other?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. It is probably worth having another hearing in September when we get the next wave of data out of NADA and Westat Corp. When you watch what Ogilvy Mather and Fleishman Hillard have done with this, it is really impressive. We have six communication platforms we are working. We are flighting these ads in chunks of 6 weeks, so wherever you go, we are there with a similar message during the same time period.

We are doing the concept of branding which has tremendous power. One of those ads I showed you, the first one, ended up with what is your anti-drug? This generation, young people, personal choice, what do you want your anti-drug to be? The answer will be opportunity.

Mr. CUMMINGS. As a Congress, what can we do? Do you think we are doing what we are supposed to do to be supportive of your efforts? I know you catch a lot of heat but I think you are doing a great job. I say that anywhere, I don't care where I go. I want to make sure we are doing what we are supposed to be doing to support your efforts. Is there anything you need from us that is reasonable that you really need that you haven't gotten?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I actually think Congress has been tremendously cooperative, I have learned a lot coming over here and listening to Rob Portman, Dennis Hastert, Steny Hoyer, you, others, Senator Campbell, Orrin Hatch, Joe Biden. You have given us significant resources and with some exceptions, it seems to me you have given me broad gauged guidance to go out there and do this job. It is working.

The only thing I might caution you is that this is not a trick campaign, this isn't a Clinton administration effort. This is a 10-year struggle for the future of our children. So you have to let this thing bite in, let us have some constancy to it. Let us work this problem and I would say about 2 years out, I would be astonished if you are not going to see dramatic impact over the dollars you put into this.

You put under $200 million in and we spent $36 billion on prisons last year. If I am modestly effective with this, and we are going to do better than modestly, you are going to like what you see in the coming 5 to 10 years.

Mr. MICA. Yield to the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Souder.

Mr. SOUDER. A couple of different things. One is that many of us understand that there isn't going to be an instant solution and that the data isn't going to drop suddenly. We do want to see the methamphetamine data because we are hearing that all over the country. In my district, the problem is starting rural and moving urban. We may see a drop in one part of the program which may not be attributable so much to the anti-drug campaign as to shifting of types of drugs. We have to make sure that is occurring too.

I am not looking for solutions that show 10, 20 percent drops every year because part of our problem with the drug question is that we keep acting like they are silver bullets and you have said many times, there aren't silver bullets. It has to be sustained, consistent and over time.

What would undermine this tremendously is that every year we show these big drops when in fact on the street we are still seeing arrests and the problems in our hometowns. So don't try to overimpress us, make sure you get a blend of statistics and I understand your media problem with it.

The biggest problem in my district still remains, and will probably continue to remain, the marijuana use in our country. In 1997, you clearly stated in front of Congress it was the administration's position that State legislation on medicinal marijuana is legally inoperative because it is contrary to Federal law. Is that still your position?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I have gone through a couple of tutorials from the Department of Justice to try to make sure I understand fully the situation. The bottom line is Congress told the States they could legislate in this arena. So the States clearly have the authority to set penalties for drug law violations and these are not conflicting, State and Federal functions.

The current medical marijuana laws are deemed to not be operative when it comes to the Federal law. There it is. We have Federal law that says you may not grow, possess, sell or use marijuana. We have FDA and NIH laws that say, doctor, if you want to prescribe a drug, you have classes of medicines, a pharmacy, clinical trials and smoked marijuana isn't part of that process.

THC is available in a pharmacy as Marinol. So, the bottom line is right now, we don't have a conflict with Federal law. It is operative.

Mr. SOUDER. In 1997, you said the Federal response had four goals, preserving established scientific, medical process for determining safe and effective, which certainly the State laws don't, protecting our youth, which for example, the California laws clearly don't; upholding existing Federal law, which the California law certainly doesn't and preserving drug free work places.

It has been all over national TV, these pot clubs and other things. I just wondered if there is any Federal response.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. It is a strange situation. I share your concern. At one point, we had 36 States that passed laetrile laws demanding that ground up peach pits be seen as an available useful medication for prostate cancer. This whole thing was laughable, it was nonscientific.

I am not sure what the way out is. I would suggest one thing. I think this media campaign, one of the many benefits of it, is it

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is reminding parents in America you actually don't want your children involved in drug taking behavior, medical or any other. You want to try to keep your youngsters not smoking cigarettes, smoking pot, abusing alcohol, never mind sticking heroin up your nose and dropping dead. I think that is how the American people feel.

Mr. SOUDER. I know your frustration too because you have expressed it before but when George Soros and others put millions of dollars into calling illegal narcotics medicine it does not help us when we are trying to do an anti-drug campaign through the U.S. Government. Yes, we are trying to counteract that but we need public and private officials speaking out all over this land or we undermine the very thing we are trying to fund.

I think many of your ads have been impressive and I know it is difficult. I have one suggestion I would like to encourage you to look at. We have seen the difficulty. Apparently the rule is that it is OK for liberals to insert their messages in television, whether through the writers, producers or general philosophical attitudes but the second a message is a conservative anti-drug message, all of a sudden it is censorship or manipulation. I believe there has been a lot of unfair publicity about it even though we are all uncomfortable with it being tied to the money.

The networks ought to be doing this type of thing voluntarily. It shouldn't have to be tied to whether or not we are doing advertising or whether it is part of their mix to get dollars from the networks. It is something they ought to be doing in the course of their responsibility.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. I think they are. One of ABC's answers was minus the mix, they were already exceeding their target. ABC has not walked away from program content that is science-based and has an anti-drug message.

Mr. SOUDER. Rather than having Congress prescribe this, one of the things I would like to see you undertake in a scientific way rather than us having to wait for the political way is some sort of aggressive report card. I understand what Congressman Cummings was talking about, a positive as well as negative message and too often we only focus on the negative. We need to have the positive messages in it.

Just like we are trying to stimulate a positive from the networks, we need a report card for abuse of our children through bad messages coming through the media.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. We have one. We paid for Mediascope to do analysis of home videos, television, radio, music.

Mr. SOUDER. I have heard you testify to some of that but as a monthly clear thing on this show, in this effort in the media, watch as parents and the general public and hold a direct accountability for the media, not just to pay advertising and give a positive but there is a negative just like we do on countries. We ought to be having a narcotics report on our country like we do on Mexico and others and Central and South America. I would hope we would have the carrot and stick.

As a supplement to that, in the Olympics, you referred to a lot of what we have done. I wonder if we have a strategy for the Olympics, where clearly we have had abuse of other types of narcotics, possibly even a Disneyworld-like thing after some of the events

where some of these clients of Fleishman Hillard and Ogilvy Mather, not just with taxpayer money, with some of their ad dollars with some of the winners saying, "I did it, I did it clean. I am healthy and more better for it" at a time when many young kids will be watching.

Clearly we don't have the ad dollars to buy lots on the Olympics but here is a place where both the networks and the advertisers could do us a tremendous favor. I wonder if you have done anything regarding the Olympics at this point?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. We have a terrific program working with the International Olympic Committee and with the U.S. Olympic Committee and the Salt Lake Organizing Committee. I think it involves a series of things and I would be glad to update you.

We did get some money from Congress and we are supportive of the setup of the U.S. Antidoping Agency which Frank Shorter, our famous gold medalist, is now heading as chairman of the Board. We also stood behind the beginning of the Worldwide Antidoping Agency, the first meetings of which took place in Lausanne. I am a delegate, part of the governmental oversight international body to keep them on track trying.

A huge problem here in this country is we had hundreds of thousands of young people, around 300,000 last year, who were using performance enhancing drugs. We have also worked with the sports community in general in the United States. We have a problem. We have professional sports where in some cases there is no common standard what drugs are outlawed and what are the testing requirements, and are they being enforced. Is andro a legal drug to be used? The Olympic Committees say no, professional baseball says yes.

In the coming years, what you will see is the U.S. Antidoping Agency will publish standards of what drugs are illegal, how you test for them will protect athletes' rights, to make sure they are not vulnerable to false testing. We have to do better than the disgraceful performance in Nagano that we saw or in the Europe Grand Bicycling Race. We are spinning out of control. We are working and we are getting tremendous cooperation. The NBA said they would put in their contract no marijuana use.

Mr. SOUDER. Thanks again for your leadership. You have been sometimes a solo voice taking the flack that many of us take in our districts but not on a national level. I want to thank you for your leadership. It doesn't mean we can't be critical on some subpoints and try to work to make it better, but overall, we thank you very much for your leadership.

Mr. MICA. The gentlelady from Illinois, Ms. Schakowsky.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. I wanted to followup a bit on what Congressman Souder mentioned in terms of monitoring the television and movies.

It may be my imagination but it seems to me that more and more movies are showing people smoking and that it is associated with being cool, the rougher, tougher and cooler a movie is, the more smoking that goes on. I wonder considering if you want to talk about the largest number of deaths and illness caused by a substance, we are certainly talking about tobacco. Is there any

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monitoring and what we are doing in the media about the use of tobacco?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Tobacco specifically, the use of tobacco and alcohol to include under age youth which is against the law is not part of my legal portfolio. We did put it in the national drug strategy because that is a part, we said, of the general view of gateway drugtaking behavior. None of the appropriated dollars you give me are going on antitobacco or underage drinking. The matching component, we are doing, so we have the largest anti-alcohol underage drinking ad in history going but it is a matching component.

The tobacco use by underage users, I am talking to in coordination with the group that manages the State Attorneys General money and the fund that was set up. They are out there with more money than we have totally. They have a huge amount of money. It seems to me it is $250 million. They are trying to sort out how they will go about this campaign.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. You talk about science-based responses to the problem of drugs. Research done for SAMHSA indicates that after-school programs and alternative activity programs are the most effective way of preventing adolescent drug abuse. Yet it is my understanding that the Federal Government is spending about twice as much on TV ads than we are on after-school programs.

I realize it is a multi-pronged approach we want to take, but do you think we should be investing more in after-school programs. The Children's Defense Fund estimates that about $5 billion is needed to adequately address the need for after-school programs.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Let me get the numbers. I agree to your central point. If you want to see success on any drug programs, you go to the Boys and Girls Clubs, the YMCA sports programs, the Elks youth programs. Children in schools are pretty safe, few drugs, little violence, little teenage sex, huge number of adults with college degrees who will love and care for them. The problem starts when they walk out the door. Our communities have to organize ourselves to deal with that subject.

Part of that, the media campaign, is targeted on helping to create strong community, anti-drug coalitions. That effort is lead by Art Dean, the CADCO CEO, I would suggest the media campaign adds to that process.

I agree with your central point. The media campaign has to shape the youth attitudes, shape adult mentor attitudes and add energy to community coalition formulation. It is a tremendously, highly leveraged behavior. We are talking essentially $185 million a year that gets to all of our children in America multiple times a week. It is unbelievable, almost eight times a week. It has to be a multifaceted program.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Let me ask a question about how we define success. I know you have stated in the past your drug strategy is based on hard data and promised measurable results in your performance, measures of effectiveness and pledge to reduce the number of chronic drug users by 20 percent by the year 2002.

In your National Drug Control Strategy, 1999 on page 15, you say, "At this point, no official, survey-based, government estimate of the size of the drug-using population exists." I am wondering without a baseline, without really knowing accurately what the

universe is, how can we really measure the effectiveness of any program?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. It is difficult. I would argue when we started this process, one of the biggest shortcomings was the lack of widely agreed upon scientific data. Most of these issues we work, international financial policy or highway construction, we argue the hypothesis, we don't argue the facts. In the drug issue that wasn't the case.

We have put a lot of effort into trying to ensure we have first rate, scientifically valid data. If I remember there are five major, federally funded studies that have been going on many for years, Monitoring the Future, Household Surveys and they are surveillance systems, they watch what goes on.

You have to know the study to say which population it gets at well and which ones are we less sure about. Household Survey doesn't go to people living under a bridge, so you undercount the 5 million chronic addicts. When you go to monitoring the future, you are talking a youth-based population and their attitudes.

We do have pretty darned good data. That was the 1999 strategy you are talking about. Here is the 2000 report that Congress required me by law each year to provide. This is the first one and it is not good enough but this is the first piece of paper where we say, here is what we think we are achieving. The numbers are getting better.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. So you feel pretty confident when you say there has been a 13 percent decline in youth drug use, that is an accurate number?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. We have a cluster of different studies, some of them first rate, others less so. The cluster is saying the message is being heard. The hard work by coalitions, the pediatricians of America, the TV ads. We think drug use and youth attitudes and parent attitudes and parent/child communication, that these variables are moving in the right direction.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Of that 13 percent, you do feel confident that you are able with some accuracy to attribute which of the various programs, be it advertising or other strategies, that are the most effective?

Gen. MCCAFFREY. The creative process is a pretty rigorous one. Partnership for Drug Free America really organizes this for us. There are 200-plus advertising agencies and it is harder work now than it was 3 years ago because now they get a strategic message platform, you have to produce a message for that platform in Spanish by February that has to go through the Partnership for Drug Free America Creative Review Committee, it has to go to Ogilvy Mather, we do focus groups on it, we include the Annenberg School of Journalism. We test the ad.

I end up approving these since I am legally accountable to you for spending this money in a sensible manner and then out they go. That has been hard work but I think Ogilvy Mather and their subcontractors and Fleishman Hillard have done a brilliant job. We have some first rate material. That is what you are seeing, third generation.

We are on the Net in six languages, we are out there in 11 languages in America, we have 102 different market strategies. The

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strategy in your State is quite different than Congresswoman Mink's. We are evaluating it. We have the numbers and we are going to show them to you periodically.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Let me just say that I certainly find the girl power ad very empowering and very exciting. I congratulate you on that.

Mr. MICA. I don't see we have any other Members with questions at this point. We do have some additional questions we would like to direct to you for responses and we will include those in the record. Without objection, the record will remain open for a period of 2 weeks if that is acceptable to the minority for additional comments or material to be included as part of this hearing. Without objection, so ordered.

We thank you again for coming today. We are sorry there are some controversial matters dealing with the program but we do want to make certain it stays on target, that we meet our objectives, that the Congress cooperates with your office in making this a success and we have a great deal at stake and a tremendous responsibility to the American people.

I don't think there has ever been a challenge that I have personally faced and you have sometimes in the military that you have worked with in your career. It is easy to put together a program and a plan and execute it. I know in the private sector in business, I found the same type of approach works. However, we are dealing with something that is beyond anything I have seen and it is a personal challenge for me and I know for you. We appreciate your cooperation and will continue to work with you.

We will excuse you at this time and we will call our second panel.

Gen. MCCAFFREY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. The second panel today consists of Dr. David Maklan, vice president of Westat, Inc.; Mr. Robert Hornik, professor, Annenberg School for Communication; and Mr. Dan Forbes, freelance journalist with Salon.com. We would welcome these three panelists.

I would inform the new panelists this is an Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee of Congress, particularly of the Government Reform Committee and in that regard, we do swear all of our witnesses. If you will remain standing, I will swear you in.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Mr. MICA. We have a policy of asking our witnesses to limit their oral presentations to 5 minutes. Additional length statements or material will be submitted for the record upon request to the Chair.

With those comments, I would welcome and recognize Mr. Dan Forbes for his comments and testimony.

STATEMENTS OF DANIEL FORBES, FREELANCE JOURNALIST, SALON.COM; DAVID MAKLAN, VICE PRESIDENT, WESTAT, INC.; AND ROBERT HORNIK, PROFESSOR, ANNENBERG SCHOOL FOR COMMUNICATION

Mr. FORBES. Thank you for the opportunity to address you this morning.

My name is Daniel Forbes. I am a freelance journalist have been doing so for approximately two decades.

The National Youth Anti-Drug Campaign, the ONDCP's paid social marketing effort, has generated no small amount of controversy in the last 6 months. Writing for salon.com and elsewhere it is a controversy I have been able to observe close hand. I trust you will permit a few insights.

A complicated program of Federal financial incentives rewarding anti-drug themes and some of the Nation's most popular sitcoms and dramas was initiated in the spring of 1998. This was prior to Congress actually asking for this sort of pro bono match. During the course of the 1998–1999 television season, ONDCP financially endorsed anti-drug motifs contained in specific episodes of numerous shows. Programs such as ER, Chicago Hope, Beverly Hills 90210, Drew Carey Show and Smart Guy freed up advertising time that the broadcaster owed to ONDCP.

The networks were afforded the opportunity, should they choose, to sell that advertising time at full price to private clients. My initial estimates as published in salon.com valued the program at less than $25 million. ONDCP has confirmed that at $22 million.

In late March, I also described a program of financial incentives that applied to several national, nonfiction magazines as well, operating on the same paradigm of rewarding or potentially rewarding anti-drug motifs.

More recently, the agency has come under fire as folks are aware for the cookies inserted in the computers in a just released GAO report. I would submit the taxpayers should wonder where their money is going. I don't believe these figures have been disclosed.

I was invited by the committee and took my obligation seriously to present new material, not to reiterate what I had said in the past. Of the initial year's funding of $195 million, several sources have told me approximately only $120 million was actually spent on advertising the first year. In the subsequent 2 years has not risen far above $130 million for the total media by that annual figure and has almost certainly remained below $140 million.

I believe this is new information. For its part, the lead ONDCP advertising agency, Ogilvy and Mather Worldwide is said to enjoy typically $18 million or more annually of taxpayer funded income. Some approximately $10 million is designated as covering O&M's overhead cost and $8 million is designated for staff salaries. That means that $10 million of overhead, which is described to rent, health benefits, retirement and the like, is paid for by the taxpayers. Therefore, income from other private Ogilvy clients does not have to meet that obligation and falls directly to the firm's bottom line. As I was told, "This makes every other Ogilvy account more profitable."

ONDCP financial year 2000 operating plan places O&M's total annual budget at $166 million. Of that, $21 million is listed as "labor production." Several million of that can be assumed to be advertising production costs and Ogilvy absorbs much of the rest in its own coffers.

The American people might also wish to know that according to ONDCP's fiscal year 2001 budget summary, the media campaign is listed under the special forfeiture fund, "All resources are 100 per-

cent drug-related." As I read that, the media campaign paves the way for public acceptance of more enforcement and thus more asset seizures which in turn financing the following year's media campaign. If I am reading this incorrectly, I welcome correction.

The question arises how effective is this advertising at curbing drug use? Congress has stated its belief that the campaign "performance measures should capture the use of all categories of drugs as well as changes in attitudes." The House has stated its expectation of "concrete results by the year 2001. The Committee will closely track this campaign and its contribution to achieving a drug free America. The Committee anticipates future funding will be based on results."

With a skeptical Republican majority, Congress breathing down its neck every year, ONDCP is under considerable pressure to show results in the various annual, national drug use surveys. Mr. Alan Levitt, the ONDCP campaign media director told me when I interviewed him in the spring of 1998, "Unless we show results that it is working, I don't know if we will have more than two or 3 years." This gets to the point that the Congresslady from Illinois was questioning Mr. McCaffrey on.

Move forward 2 years, referring to 1999, half a year after the campaign was launched nationally, not the requisite 2 or 3 years that they anticipate to have an effect, Mr. McCaffrey stated 2 days after the Salon story broke that "Drug use by America's youth declined 13 percent. We believe this decrease is due in part to the higher profile the media campaign has brought to the problem." Three days later, Mr. McCaffrey's assertion was even more unabashed, "Most importantly, as reported in August 1999, youth drug use is down 13 percent." He appeared on CNN Talkback Live and stated, "I have to underscore that I think the programmatic has been enormously effective and helpful in creating that 13 percent reduction."

The recent data on slipping teen drug use is awkwardly premature. Mr. McCaffrey told the United Nations in June 1998, "Experts advise that we will not see significant behavior changes among our audiences for at least 2 years." If the campaign was rolled out in 1998, 1999 was a scant half a year.

A Department of Health and Human Services report shows lower drug use in 1998, etc. The report adds, "Real declines in use far, far in advance of any anticipated supposed effect of the ads underscores the vagaries of drug use data."

Let me go to a second revelation here this morning as will be discussed in an upcoming issue of Salon. ONDCP's paid media campaign was engendered, the belief from this quarter, at least in part, let me stress in part, at a meeting in Washington convened by Mr. McCaffrey several days after the passage of medical marijuana voter initiatives in Arizona and California in November 1996.

Attendees at the November 14, 1996 meeting in Washington included the Director, members of the senior staff, Thomas Constantine of the DEA, some dozen law enforcement personnel from Arizona and California and eight representatives of drug policy organizations that endorse ONDCP's approach.

I have obtained two separate copies of notes summarizing the remarks of attendees at this meeting. The contemporaneous notes

surfaced as part of the discovery process in the Federal lawsuit *Conant* v. *McCaffrey,* U.S. District Court, Northern District of California. This suit seeks to permit California doctors to discuss medical marijuana with their patients.

These are contemporaneous notes written in a rather clipped parlance but given that description of their diction, a district attorney from Arizona stated, "Even though California and Arizona are different propositions, the strategy proponent is the same. It will expand throughout the Nation if we don't all react." React indeed they did. Congress passed the initial funding for the media campaign less than a year later.

Most trenchant perhaps were the remarks of two representatives of the Partnership for a Drug Free America, Richard Bonnette, PDFA's president, and Mike Townsend, executive vice president, as well as Dr. Paul Jellanick, senior VP at the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. The Johnson Foundation is a major funder of the Partnership for a Drug Free America.

In summary form, the notes read as follows: "Mr. Townsend: California parents, tell them what the national partnership, i.e., the Partnership for a Drug Free America, is concerned about what they can do about spending money to influence legislation. What can the Partnership for a Drug Free America do to spend money to influence legislation."

Prior to that an unidentified participant asked, "who will pay for national sound bites? The campaign will require serious media and serious money." This is at a meeting to address the passing of the marijuana initiatives in those two States.

Jim Coppel, whose organization you have heard mentioned here, Community Anti-Drug Coalition of America, is quoted as saying, "We need to go State by State, money to do media. CACA is trying this seriously. We need to frame the issue properly. Expose the legalizers as using the terminally ill as props."

The Partnership's Richard Bonnette stated, "We lost ground one, no coordinated communications strategy, didn't have the media."

Most telling perhaps is this remark from PDFA's funder, Dr. Jellanick, "The other side"—proponents of medical marijuana—"would be salivating if they could hear the prospects of the Feds going against the will of the people. It is a political problem."

Mr. MICA. I am going to have to interrupt, Mr. Forbes. Your time has expired. If you can begin to conclude and maybe hit on your major points. As I mentioned, if you have lengthy statements we will be glad to submit the entire statement to the record.

Mr. FORBES. When Mr. Diaz of your staff invited me here, he indicated I would be the only person opposing the views of the rest of the panel. He said I would have the amount of time I needed to make my point, so I will endeavor to summarize my remarks.

Mr. MICA. We will put your entire statement in the record.

Mr. FORBES. I do need several more minutes.

Mr. MICA. If you will go ahead and begin to conclude because I do want to give the other two panelists adequate time.

Mr. FORBES. I would point out Mr. McCaffrey had at least 2 hours. As I was told, I was the only person providing an alternative point of view, I would trust you might be interested in that. I will do my best to be brief.

Mr. MICA. We want to be reasonable but I would ask you to please try to begin to conclude. We will take your entire statement and include it in the record.

Mr. FORBES. ONDCP has denied influencing scripts stating in January, "At no time during the process did it or any person affiliated with the media campaign suggest changes." Mr. McCaffrey stated here this morning there was no government manipulation. My article, Washington Script Doctors quoted both ONDCP consultants and the shows' producers on government alteration of an episode of the WB show Smart Guy. These specifics are never addressed.

It involved the previously rejected script that was resurrected for the financial incentive program. ONDCP and its consultants offered "a few dictates" said the show's executive producer, Bob Young. One consultant who worked on the script notes that the substance abusing terms were changed from appealing characters to losers. "We showed they were losers, put them in the utility room."

ONDCP's involvement in shaping this script is underscored by Alan Levitt's e-mail sent out in May 1999 alerting recipients to the show's airing. It reads, "For your information, see Smart Guy. We worked a lot on that script." No force of law underscored the script doctoring. It was a financial incentive.

I have much material here underscoring that point. Let me skip to my next point.

After stating the programs would no longer be reviewed until after the ad aired, ONDCP contractors will continue to use a formula-based approach for the pro bono match credit evaluation. Indeed, this is continuing this spring's shows such as Cosby, Party of Five, King of the Hill, NBC's Saved by the Bell, etc., have been valued at many thousands of dollars.

To my knowledge, there has not been an indication concurrent with the broadcast of these financial considerations. I would ask the committee the issue looms whether the networks are breaking the payola regulations. In fact, enforcement action is currently being considered by the FCC as to whether all scripts receiving financial consideration from ONDCP need to indicate that fact during the course of the broadcast.

Is the American public receiving good value for their investment? The question arises how many of these shows would have run anyway? In the Washington Post in January, a CBS spokesman says all the shows we have were going to go on anyway. So I don't know what the problem is.

In a Senate hearing in early February, ONDCP announced Viacom's VH–1 Behind the Music documentaries was valued to the tune of almost $1 million. Generally speaking, the rise of drug abuse and subsequent rehabilitation of rock stars is the sole topic of Behind the Music.

All sorts of fudging occurs, cross promotional possibilities abound. For one ad meeting, ABC's matching obligation, a casually dressed Michael Eisner, Disney's CEO, stood in front of Cinderella's castle at Disneyland to urge parents to talk to their kids about drugs. We can imagine the response of some viewers at home. Oh, look, George or Betty, that nice man, I think he is the

head of Disney, he certainly cares. If Johnny gets his grades up like he promised, let us take him to Disneyland.

Rather than Disney having sold this spot match for the required 50 cents on the dollars, we can estimate it was sold for perhaps 70 cents on the dollar.

Another issue is whether ONDCP broke the law by having Mr. McCaffrey appear on the Fox broadcasting nonfiction show, America's Most Wanted. The law clearly states no media campaigns are to be funded pursuant to this campaign, shall feature any elected officials or cabinet level officials absent advance notice of Committees on Appropriations and the Senate Judiciary Committee.

ONDCP says the main goal is just to ensure accurate portrayals of drug use. According to its own report issued a few months ago back in January, "Illicit drugs were infrequently mentioned and rarely shown in primetime television. In the few episodes that portrayed illicit drug use, nearly all showed negative consequences." Overall, teen viewers were exposed to very little illicit drug use and what little there was, did not glamorize drugs. I would say that the accurate portrayal is in place already.

In a similar vein after disclosure of incentives for magazines, editors defended the practice saying that articles would have run regardless. The committee may wish to ask is it getting its money's worth.

ONDCP has acted as a catalyst to various motifs that have some very positive interaction with parents and the like. In other cases, negatively valued themes reflect the social engineering that is more subtly manipulative and more chilling. Young characters are pressured to figure who bought the alcohol or marijuana to a party as on Smart Guy and Cosby.

The fall issue of the Journal of Health Communication observes it is not the merits of a political argument that are important but rather the relative success of proponents and opponents in framing the debate. Edward Bernays, the acknowledged chief of the practice of public relations wrote in a book titled Propaganda published in 1928, "If we understand the mechanisms and motives of the group mind, it is now possible to control and reinvent the masses according to our will without them knowing it." Referring to this as the "engineering of consent" Bernays added "Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country."

That concludes my testimony. On a personal note, I had the honor of testifying before the Senate in February before Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell's subcommittee. Remarkably enough, Senator Campbell told me I had "done a service to the country" in remarks after the hearing. My testimony does not currently appear on the Appropriations Committee Web site. I was told yesterday this would not be rectified. So much for honest competition in the marketplace of ideas.

I trust that my testimony before this committee will not suffer the same fate.

Thank you for your attention.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Forbes follows:]

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Statement of Daniel Forbes, freelance journalist, before the House Subcommittee on Crminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, at a Hearing entitled, "Evaluating the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign." July 11,. 2000.

Chairman Mica, Rep. Mink, and other Distinguished Members of the Subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity to address you this morning.

The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, the Office of National Drug Control Policy's paid social marketing effort, has generated some no small amount of controversy in the last six months. It's a controversy I've been able to observe at close hand, and I trust you'll permit a few insights. It is fitting that Congress exercise oversight of a very problematical effort.

To reiterate briefly, a complicated program of federal financial incentives rewarding anti-drug themes in some of the nation's most popular sitcoms and dramas was initiated in the spring of 1998. During the course of the 1998-99 television season, ONDCP financially endorsed the anti-drug motifs contained in specific episodes of at least a score of shows. Such programs as "ER," "Chicago Hope," Beverly Hills 90210," "The Drew Carey Show" and "Smart Guy," freed-up advertising time that the broadcaster owed ONDCP. The network was then afforded the opportunity, *should it chose*, to sell that advertising time at full price to private companies. My initial estimates, as published in Salon.com, valued the program at nearly $25 million; ONDCP confirms the figure at $22 million.

More recently, the agency has come under fire for allowing visitors to its web site to be tracked with "cookies" inserted into their computers by the agency's contractors. And a just released General Accounting Office report has assailed Gen. McCaffrey's management and militarization of the agency. Some 30 military detaillees currently serve at ONDCP, having largely supplanted civilians in the top posts.

I would submit that taxpayers should wonder where their money is going. Of the initial year's funding of $195 million, several sources have told me approximately only $120 million of that was actually spent on advertising. In the subsequent two years, the figure has not risen far above $130 million annually, and has almost certainly remained below $140 million.

For its part, lead ONDCP advertising agency Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide is said to enjoy typically $18 million or more annually of taxpayer-funded income. Some aproximately $10 million is designated as covering O & M's overhead costs and $8 million is designated for staff salaries. That means that $10 million of overhead, -- rent, health benefits and the like – are paid for by the taxpayers. Income from private Ogilvy clients therefore falls directly to the firm's bottom line. As I was told, "This makes every other account more profitable." The ONDCP FY 2000 Operating Plan places O & M's total annual budget at $166 million. Of that, $21 million is listed as "Labor/Production." Several million of that can be assumed to be for advertising production costs.

.The American public might also wish to know that, according to ONDCP's FY 2001 budget summary, for the media campaign , under the Special Forfeiture Fund, "All resources are 100 percent drug-related." As I read that, the media campaign paves the way for public acceptance of more enforcement and thus more asset seizures, which in turn finances the following year's media campaign. If I'm reading this wrong, I await correction.

The question arises: how effective is this advertising at curbing youth drug use? ONDCP has trumpeted some success for the media campaign, but does that take into account the time lag the agency itself has posited for its efforts to take hold?

Congress stated its belief that campaign "performance measures should capture the use of all categores of drugs as well as changes in the attitudes of youth towards drug use." [Emphasis added.] The House has stated its expectation of "concrete results by the year 2001. The Committee will closely track this campaign and its contribution to achieving a drug-free America.... *The Committee anticipates that future funding will be based on results.* [Emphasis added.]

With a septical, Republican-majority Congress breathing down its neck every year, ONDCP under considerable pressure to show results in the various annual national drug-use surveys. Alan Levitt, the ONDCP campaign media director, told me when I interviewed him in the Spring of 1998: "Unless we show results that it's working, I don't know if we have more than two or three years."

Move forward two years. Referring to 1999 – just half a year after the campaign was launched nationally, not the requuisite two or three years -- Gen. McCaffrey stated two days after the Salon story broke that "Drug use by America's youth delinced by 13 percent last year. We believe this decrease is due in part to the higher profile the media campaign has brought to the nation's illegal drug problem." Three days later, Gen. McCaffrey's assertion was even more unabashed: "Most importly, as reported in August 1999, youth drug use id down 13 percent – young people are beginning to reject drug use."

Gen. McCaffrey appeared on CNN Talkback Live on 1/14/00 to defend the media campaign. He stated: "... I've got to underscore that I think the programmatic has been enormously effective and helpful in creating what we say was a 13 percent reduction in adolescent drug use last year."

In a letter to Salon, a week after the first article, Richard D. Bonnette CEO of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, states: "The campaign appears to be working.... drug use is leveling off, and dropping in some measures. The changes are concurrent with the launch of this unprecedented campaign...." I fail to see how any causality can be ascribed to a *concurrent* change.

The recent data on slipping teen drug use is, however, awkwardly premature. Gen. McCaffrey told the United Nations in June of 1998, "Experts advise that we will not see significant behavior change among our audiences for at least two years." And, an ONDCP backgrounder states, "We anticipate that the campaign will need two to three years to show significant behavior change."

And in an interview with me in November, 1999, referring to the media campaign, Mr. Levitt said, "It focuses on how you change behavior, so it'll take two or three years to get a desired effect."

Frthermore, a report from the Department of Health and Human Services showed lower drug use in 1998, and an ONDCP release states, "Drug use among 12-17 year olds declined slightly in 1997 and 1998." The ad campaign wasn't even launched nationally until mid-1998, and the paradigm calls for two-year-plus time lag. The federal Substance Abuse and Mental Health Service Administration (SAMHSA) 1998 National Household

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Survey on Drug Abuse: IT states: "9.9% of youths age 12-17 reported current use [past 30 days] of illicit cdrugs in 1998. This estimate represents a statistidcallysignificant decrease from the estimate of 11.4% in 1997.... The percent of youth reporting current use of illicit drugs has fluctuated since 1995. (9.0% in 1996 and 11.4% in 1997.)" The report adds that marijauna use has also fluctuated since 1995. Real declines in use far, far in advance of any anticipated, supposed effect of the paid ads just underscore that the vagaries of drug-use survey data are independent of the ads' negligible effect.

Given that funding is an annual exercise, inserting messages into programming is crucial. Thus, ONDCP rewards and engenders televised embedded messages for a simple reason: compared to the ads anyway, the stuff works like gangbusters.

Seeing an ad, many kids scoff at what's seen as preaching or hit the remote from the get-go. After a couple of repititions of even the slickest ad, attention flags. Yet the campaign faces an annual public appropriations hurdle, with Congress stating its expectation of "concrete results by the year 2001."

Proof of the ads' possible efficacy is elusive, probably illusory, and numerous public health experts have their doubts. As professors David R. Buchanan and Lawrence Wallack write in the Spring, 1998 *Journal of Drug Issues*: Trends indicating an increase in drug use have led many to the conslusion that the PDFA media campaign has had no effect."

But the power of even the cheesiest program trumps the effect of any number of clever ads. Also, the interest groups represented in the matching ads, such as the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, while relevent to kids' values and self-esteem, don't slam ONDCP's message home with nearly the same put-down-that-joint focus. ONDCP risked the eventual uproar because embedded messages get the job done.

Viewers enthralled by an emotionally-compelling program have lowered their 'defensive screen.' They see only a favorite character modeling behavior, someone they might wish to emulate. Fox sales exec Kayne Lanahan says of the anti-drug story lines, "We argue they are extremely valuable. It's coming out of the culture, the culture of TV. It involves characters that kids have been watching for years who they don't automatically question."

Mr. Levitt told me in November, 1999, "I would always love to have programming over ads. I think it's more impactful, and it's clearer – there's no question about that."

Compared to an ad, a story line, says ONDCP adviser Philip Palmgreen of the University of Kentucky, "is not so obvious. So, for persuasive reasons, it's more effective." A message "embedded in a good story line ... reduces counter-arguing because viewers are so wrapped up in the story."

Kathryn Montgomery, founder of the Center for Media Education, quotes designated driver godfather Jay Winsten as saying, "'Nothing can rival prime-time entertainment programming in potential impact." And she quotes Grant Tinker's statement that "'You couldn't have enough billboards or skywriting or newspapers to equal the impact of a star like Michael J. Fox talking about designated drivers in one episode of 'Family Ties.'"

Messages embedded in programming have proliferated for decades inthird world countries like Egypt, India, Turkey and Tanzania to promote literacy, AIDS-prevention, family planning, respect for women and the like, according to Colorado State University's Professor Michael D. Slater. (Professor Slater, by the way, has a NIH contract to evaluate a part of the media campaign.) In an upcoming book, Slater discusses Mexican telenovelas in the late 1970s. In conjunction with other social marketing efforts, messages salted in the programs yielded adult literacy enrollment increases of 63% and 32% more visits to state-run family planning clinics.

Sitcoms and dramas pack a wallop here in this country as well. The Fall, 1998 issue of the *Journal of Health Communiucation* editorializes that, "The entertainment industry is our principal messenger of health information: 32% of regular viewers of NBC's "ER" indicated that information they receive from the show helps them make choices about their family's health care, and 12% indicated they have contacted their physician because of something they saw on the show." Crazy and perhaps disconcerting, but true.

In an interview, Professor Slater says, "It's a bargain. To get the TV people to work on scripts to reinforce points is far more effective than advertising.... If you're absorbed and care about the characters, you don't make fun of it." He adds, "If the option is for three ads or a show that's on-message, I'd take the show in an eyeblink. People are immediately skeptical with an ad, or eating chips or going to the bathroom. With only 30 seconds to engage someone, it's very difficult."

Should kids discover how the government has manipulated them, vast numbers would scorn the message embedded in the shows. Unlike televsion writers, they're not paid small fortunes to go along to get along.

ONDCP has denied influencing scripts, stating in January that, "At no time during the process did ONDCP – or any person or organization affiliated with the Media Campaign – suggest changes ...." . ONDCP uses phrases, phrases not lightly chosen to indicate it did not have the absolute final say-so over the shows it granted financial dispensation. And indeed, as my articles stated, it did not. It just had, by its own reckoning, a $22 million carrot held brightly aloft.

Having to say something, anything, ONDCP resorts to such circumlocutions as its statement of 1/15/00 that "ONDCP does not veto, clear or otherwise dictate the content of network television or other programs." Examine the diction here, the verbs assembled for this transparent Newspeak. They're as random as railroad tracks across the prairie.

But I made it clear that, at any time, the networks could tell ONDCP to take a hike and thus forgo the opportunity to earn an extra half-a-million dollars, more or less, a show. Indeed, ONDCP did not "veto," etc. any shows. Waving a multi-million dollar carrot under the noses of the television networks, there was absolutely no need for thumbs-up or thumbs-down dictates. In the strictest sense of those three verbs, the statement is correct. And, as we say locally, that and a buck-fifty will get you on the subway.

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My article "Washington Script Doctors" quoted both ONDCP consultants and the show's producers on government alteration of an episode of the WB show, "Smart Guy." It involved a previously rejected script that was resurrected for the financial incentive program. ONDCP and it's consultants offered "a few dictates," said the show's executive producer, Bob Young. One ONDCP consultant who worked on the script notes that the substance-abusing young teens were transformed from appealing characters in the original script to losers at ONDCP's behest. He states, "We showed that they were losers and put them in a utility room [rather than out in the main party]. That was not in the original script."

ONDCP's involvement in this show is underscored by Alan Levitt's own e-mail sent out last May, alerting recipients to the show's airing a couple of days hence. It reads in part: "FYI, See WB's Smart Guy ... episode on underage drinking -- we worked a lot on that script...." (Some 8% of the programming content valued by ONDCP focused on under-age drinking.)

No force of law underscored the script doctoring. Rather, the at least implicit threat applied that, should network resolve to maintain basic integrity stiffen, and the paying client get too riled as a result, that client just might value a specific episode for less money. The valuation process was controlled entirely by ONDCP and its two ad buyers, first Zenith Media USA and then Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide. The possibility existed -- for what is the point of a valuation exercise if more than one outcome isn't possible? -- that an uncooperative network might recoup less ad time, as measured in dollars, to potentially resell to other clients.

Rile that client with the big, five-year bushel of money too much, and everyone at the table knew ONDCP always had other ad-buy options at hand the following season, both within television and in any number of other media.

It was all done collegially, nothing at stake but potentially hundreds of thousands of dollars per episode. A mere bagatelle, with no possible influence on programming to be sure. In some cases, both parties to the transaction wrangled over any changes initiated by ONDCP. Said one paid ONDCP consultant, "Script changes would be discussed between ONDCP and the show -- negotiated." To borrow from the world I know, it sounds similar to the interaction between an editor and a reporter in crafting a piece of journalism.

Another ONDCP consultant asserted that Alan Levitt and his deputy helped review scripts. He stated, "you'd see a lot of give and take: `Here's the script, what do you think?'" Much initial work was done during a script's development stage, he said. When a final script appeared, it was "rush, rush" with a turnaround time of a week or so. He added, "I helped out on a number of scripts. They ran the scripts past us, and we gave comments. We'd say, `It's great you're doing this, but inadvertently you're conveying something [off-message.]" And then ONDCP and its consultants would suggest changes to suit their paradigm.

This past summer, a News Corporation executive told me, "There were on-going discussions with Zenith. They looked at each episode and how prevalent the story line was." This person added, "We show [ONDCP] scripts when they're in development, and the final script and then send a tape after it airs."

Rosalyn Weinman, NBC executive vp for content policy and East Coast entertainment, maintained ONDCP did not exercise "script approval." (And, semantically speaking, Ms. Weinman is as technically correct as Gen. McCaffrey is: 'approval' it was not.) But, she added, there were conversations, either about broad issues or "specific concerns." Either ONDCP approved, in which case the episode qualified, said Ms. Weinman, or the government could say: "'It's not working for us.'"

And then the availability of a whole lot of money went up in smoke. Care to bet how often it happened?

Marianne Gambelli, senior vp of prime time sales at NBC, acknowledged NBC sent scripts to ONDCP. It wasn't necessarily ceding "creative control," she said. "It was more like: keep everyone happy." But, she added, "They read scripts, they approved them as worthy of the message and said, yes, we count it" for inclusion in the financial incentive program. Kathryn Sullivan, also of NBC sales, agreed that, "There were specific guidelines as to what is acceptable, and we discussed them" with ONDCP and its ad buyers.

In a House Commerce Committee hearing on 2/9/00, according to a Reuter's report, a Washington-based CBS lobbyist stated that CBS had never altered programming as a result of the financial incentives. But, CBS resurrected a rejected and long-dead "Chicago Hope" script expressly at a studio marketing exec's request for this program. As later broadcast -- and a show that otherwise never would have aired qualifies as one heck of an alteration in my book -- the episode featured drug-induced death, rape, psychosis, a devastating auto accident and a doctor threatening to withhold life-saving surgery unless the patient submitted to a criminally significant urine test. Once the "Chicago Hope" producers got the word from on high to have an anti-drug storyline, they were professional enough to take it from there. Given the zeitgeist in advertiser-supported recurring series, no further White House interference was required.

On 1/18/00, ONDCP issues this clarification: After stating that programs will no longer be revieweed untial after they're aired, ONDCP's contractors, the agency said, will continue to use a formula-based approach for the pro bono match credit evaluation process. ONDCP declared it will continue to allow media match credit for program content messages.

And indeed this year, such shows as "Cosby, Party of Five and King of the Hill, as well as Saved by the Bell and One World have continued to receive credit for anti-drug themes. Without some indication concurrent with broadcast of these financial considerations, the issue looms whether the networks are breaking the "payola" regulations. In fact, an enforcement action is currently under advisement at the FCC.

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Part of the sheme's motivation is political.

Recall that the Clinton administration was attacked as "drug-coddling" by Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison during the 1996 Republican Convention. And Republican candidate Bob Dole regularly assailed the president for his supposed softness on drugs.

ONDCP Chief of Staff Janet I. Crist, her 6/7/00 response to the PricewaterhouseCoopers management report requested by the GAO: "Additionally, the agency is very mindful of previous congressional complaints that the Administration had been 'AWOL' in the area of drug control early in its term and determined to respond to constitutenet demands that their extensive efforts in the areas of prevention, treatment, enforcement and interdiction be publically recognized."

It should be remembered that fully half the advertising budget is directed at adults. According to Gen. McCaffrey's staement of 1/18/00, the "pro bono match component" [SIC] has "generated over 100 million teen and tween impressions and 250 million adult impressions." It seems clear where ONDCP's priorities lie.

Is the American public receiving good value for their investment in the media campaign? Testifying before the Senate on 2/3/00, Mr. Levitt indicated that as of that date, 130 original television episodes and 353 repeats have been assigned a total of $22 million in public service credit. That's a $22 million of advertising obligations that ONDCP released the networks from.

But the question arises, how many of these shows would have run anyway? In an article in The Washington Post, 1/14/00, a CBS spokesman is quoted as saying, "All the shows we've put on were going to go on anyway. So I don't know what the problem is.".

And, at a Senate hearing in early February, ONDCP announced that Viacom's VH-1 *Behind the Music* documentaries, among other shows, were valued, in this case to the tune of more than $900,000. Generally speaking, the rise, drug-induced fall and subsequent rehabilitation of rock stars is the central motif of this show.

All sorts of fudging occurs, and cross-promotional possibilites abound. For instance, a casually-dressed Michael Eisner, Disney's CEO, stands in fron of Cinderella's Castle at Disneyland to urge parents to talk to their kids about drugs. And we can imagine the viewers at home: 'Oh look, George (or Betty). That nice man – I think he's the head of Disney – he certainly cares. If Johnny gets his grades up like he promised, let's take him to nice, wholesome Disneyland. Do us all some good. Rather than Disney having sold the ad that this spot matches for required fifty cents on the dollar, it was sold for what? 70 cents on the dollar?

Another issue that arises is whether ONDCP broke the law by having Gen. McCaffrey appear on Fox Broadcasting Company's *America's Most Wanted.* The law clearly states that "no media campaigns to be funded pursuant to this campaign shall feature any elected officials, persons seeking elected office, cabinet-level officials ... absent advance notice to the Committees on Appropriations and the Senate Judiciary Committee...." Fox

was granted financial credits, whether it chose to exercise them or not, for Gen. McCaffrey's appearance in September, 1999 on this non-fiction show.

ONDCP says that one main goal of the media campaign is to just ensure accurate (i.e., naegative) portrayals of drug use. But, according to ONDCP's own report, released this January, "Illicit drugs were infrequently mentioned and rarely shown in prime-time television. In the few episodes that protrayed lillicit drug use, nearly all showed negative consequences. ... Overall, teen viewers were exposed to very little illicit drug use and what littler there was did no glamorize drugs."

Similarly, after disclosure of a similar financial incentives rewarding the content of some of the nation's most prominent non-fiction magazines, some editors defended the practice saying credit was given for articles that would have run regardless.

With the magazine program, ONDCP characteristically left little to chance. It distributed what it called "Strategy Platforms" to guide editorial content, delineating four such platforms. And remarkably enough, under the heading: "Timing," ONDCP had the hubris to request specific months for each platform. The government's instructions as filtered through the media: Under the "Platform": "Parenting Skills," pegged for April and either October or November, editors are advised to instruct their readers: "Monitor: always know whree [children] are, who they're with." Aside from the sheer impossibility of such a notion, is that really the best relationship to have with a thirteen-year-old.
In December and May, the "Your Child at Risk" months, editors are to inform readers that, "All kids are potential targets for experimental drug use, regardless of where they live or how young they are." Is there literally no safe age, risk begins when a toddler starts to crawl?

ONDCP either acted as catalyst to a show's creation or retroactively valued an episode arrived at independently. Regardless, the motifs the government valued often revolved around relatively nonthreatening social or familial consequences removed from the criminal justice realm: Do drugs and lose your parents' trust; how to say no and remain popular; the importance of good parenting prior to any crisis; the straight kids are the real cool dudes; what's more, they're not palling around with the transgressors.

In some shows, the semiotics are so broad, so decades out of date—so square, daddyo—one almost wonders if it's the producers' sly, resentful descent into self-parody to undercut the embedded messages' effectiveness. On "Seventh Heaven," the pot-smoking teen-ager (who becomes a kiddie narc) saunters off down the school hallway with his dressed-in-black, leather-jacketed druggie friends, one of whom sports, of course, a goatee. Another wears a beret—a beret on this suburban American high school student! Way cool, daddyo. He might as well be wearing a black trench coat.

"The Wayans Brothers" episode actually spoofs a parody. The Partnership for a Drug-Free America's most famous effort employs eggs frying: "This is your brain on drugs." Parody tee-shirts soon appeared emblazoned with words to the effect: This is your brain on drugs with toast and a side of bacon. After Marlon Wayans was caught by his brother

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with marijuana, they're sitting in a diner, his brother using a (small) egg to portray Marlon's brain. Finally, thecook grabs it back and says, "This is your brain with hot sauce and chopped ham."

Are the Wayans just making fun of it all? Marlon goes to an audtion high on pot and acts so over the top, one wonders if the Wayansintentionally undercut the message. Wigged beyond belief from the one joint, Marlon climbs on a table, starts hopping on the floor like a toad, has blurry vision, gets in the director's lap, starts singing and taking his clothes off and generally freaking out in fine psychotic fashion in a very long scene. It's marvelous physical comedy, but totally unrealistic. Maybe we're supposed to think the pot was laced with PCP or something, but it's presented to impressionable 12-year-olds as this is what happens with just marijuana.

Other, in ONDCP's phrase, "negatively valued" themes reflect a social engineering that's more subtly manipulative, more chilling. Young characters are pressured to finger who brought the booze or pot to a party, as on "The Smart Guy" and "Cosby."

Then there's micturition at some authority figure's behest, as required in "Drew Carey," "Hang Time," and "Chicago Hope" (as the legally incriminating price of possibly life-saving surgery by a preferred doctor). Americans now have to urinate in a cup in order to join the high school debating team these days, or to get a quotidian job with no relation to public safety or fiduciary responsibilities—selling shoes perhaps. Submit and unzip is the behavior these shows model as a matter of course for teens (that is, future employees) and adults alike.

In that June, 1998 speech to the United Nations, McCaffrey called for the "mobilization of civil society at all levels," since an "... anti-drug campaign can help everyone." That includes, one imagines, a Clinton Administration mischaracterized as 'soft' on drugs. His next statement indicates how the media campaign serves, in part, as a stalking-horse for one of its main stakeholders and financial supporters. McCaffrey told the diplomats, "Corporations whose productivity depends on healthy, drug-free employees can lend financial backing as well as public endorsement." In return, ONDCP will reward networks who parade before the citizenry characters who submit to drug tests.

Harvard's Jay Winsten discusses the effort involved in changing the political mindset regarding drunk driving. In a 1994 issue of the *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* (supplement to volume 10, # 3), Winsten writes, "A shift in the behavior of a critical mass of social drinkers, through a change in social norms, is a prerequisite for mobilizing public opinion in support of stringent, costly efforts to target high-risk, recidivist drinking drivers."

"Stringent, costly efforts." That's as good a three-word description of the drug war as any. No slouch at semiotics, Gen. McCaffrey understands the importance of properly framing an argument for political purposes. Consider an article that appeared under his byline in the *Chicago SunTimes* in Januar, 1999.

Heroin is referred to as being "handled by Nigerian traffickers."True certainly, but a lot of nationalities trade in heroin, so why are Nigerians specified, rather than, oh, the French? The very thought of an African full of condoms swollen with dope on the plane next to you is enough to make the average soccer mom blanch. It's redolent of the Reefer

Madness era's demonization of frenzied Mexicans hopped up on 'marihuana.' Then McCaffrey refers to "crack cocaine, which is sold by gangs"—gangs being an efficient, two-for-one racial code word for minorities.. And though pot is used by more kids than any drug but booze, he mentions it just the once: "Marijuana is used with crack as well as PCP."True enough, but in what minute percentages?

As Claudia L. Menashe and Michael Siegel observe in the Fall, 1998 issue of Journal of Health Communication, it's not the merits of a political argument that are important, but rather "... the relative success of proponents and opponents in framing the overall terms of the debate."

Edward Bernays, is the generally acknowledged chief progenitor, starting after World War I, of the practice of public relations, He wrote, in his book, Propaganda (1928), "If we understand the mechanisms and motives of the group mind, it is now possible to control and reiment the masses according to our will without them knowing it. Referring to this as the "engineering of consent" Bernays added that "...those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country."

Mr. MICA. We will include, and you have our commitment, your entire testimony as a part of the record. Also, without objection, we will include in our record your Senate testimony. We want to try to be fair and give every side airing before us. We appreciate your testimony.

We will withhold questions until I have heard from the other two panelists. At this time I am pleased to recognize David Maklan, vice president of Westat, Inc. Welcome, sir, and you are recognized.

Mr. MAKLAN. I am David Maklan, vice president of Westat. We are responsible for conducting ONDCP's evaluation of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Accompanying me is Robert Hornik, professor in communications at the Annenberg School for Communication.

To make clear our roles, Mr. Hornik has lead responsibility for study design and analysis and I have overall responsibility for contractor performance with particular focus on study operations.

I would like to interject here that despite earlier comments, we are not here to present a position. Mr. McCaffrey wisely asked Alan Leshner and NIDA to take the lead in conducting an independent evaluation of phase III of the media campaign and that is indeed what we are trying to do to the best of our ability.

From its inception, ONDCP believed that the evaluation was important to the overall success of the campaign and therefore included an evaluation component in each of the three campaign phases. Phase I was the 26 week case control pilot test implemented in 12 metropolitan areas across the country that focused on television ad awareness; phase II released the media campaign to a national audience in July 1998 with an objective of increasing the awareness of antidrug messages among youths and adults, obviously not stating the full case. Phase III initiated in September 1999 marked the full implementation of the media campaign.

It is our task, the Westat-Annenberg Team, to determine how successful the media campaign is in achieving its goals for phase III. In doing so, we paid careful attention to the lessons and experiences of phases I and II and have used them and other sources of information to guide our design.

While there are hundreds of questions that the evaluation will attempt to answer, there is one overarching question, whether observed changes in drug use or drug attitudes can be attributed specifically to the campaign. In my few remaining minutes, I will summarize the study design and Dr. Hornik will then focus on the discussion of how we plan to approach the measurement of media campaign effectiveness.

From the start, we believe that data from three existing data sets were crucial to measuring prevalence of substance use and certain attitudes related to substance use. These are the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse that Mr. McCaffrey mentioned several times, Monitoring the Future, and the Partnership Attitude Tracking Survey. However, we also recognize that changes in drug use attitudes and prevalence rates by youth might be the result of many factors in addition to the campaign. Therefore, in order to make reasonable claims that the campaign was responsible for the change, our evaluation has to go well beyond the analysis of trends in existing data.

Based on guidance from NIDA's expert panel, Westat's 30 years of program evaluation and survey research experience, and the Annenberg School's communication research expertise, as well as lessons learned from the previous phases, we adopted an approach that differs in important respects from that used during the prior phases.

First, our basic evaluation approach is to study natural variation in exposure to the media campaign. This means comparing groups with high exposure to groups with low exposure. To this end, we will look for variation across media markets, across time, within media markets at a single time, and across individuals. If variation in media exposure can be found, we will then determine whether there are any preexisting differences between the groups that might explain both the variation in exposure and any variation in outcomes. To this end, we developed theoretic models of media campaign influence which are summarized by the four figures attached to our written testimony.

Second, the evaluation team developed the National Survey of Parents and Youth which emphasizes measurement of drug attitudes, exposure to the media campaign, family and peer variables, and a variety of risk factors. While NSPY will also attract change from 2000–2003, its principal purpose is to monitor the success of the campaign in reaching its target audiences and then convincing audiences to adopt desired attitudes, intentions and behaviors.

NSPY has a number of features that are new or unique among national surveys in this field. First, it will generate semi-annual reports on campaign status, the first of which is scheduled for delivery later this summer. We will also prepare a number of special reports that will examine specific campaign effectiveness issues in considerable depth.

Second, children as young as age 9 will be included in the survey.

Third, each sampled youth will be paired with a parent allowing for direct examination of aspects of parent/child relations and the collection of family history and other background data.

NSPY data will also be collected using audiovisual, self interview computer systems, thereby increasing the reliability of the survey and permitting each respondent to view and listen to actual campaign messages when being asked exposure questions.

NSPY also includes improved measures of exposure to ONDCP's anti-drug messages as well as a richer set of measures of beliefs and attitudes sensitive to the specific messages of the campaign.

Finally, three or four interviews will be conducted with each youth and parent at approximately yearly intervals. This will permit measurement of change in personal attitudes, behaviors and other factors, and the application of more powerful analytic techniques to determine causal influences.

With respect to the survey proper, we decided to implement an integrated, in-person household-based approach to surveying youth and their parents for a variety of reasons including response considerations, the ability to conduct longer interviews, and the ability to collect year-round data.

NSPY has a two-phase design where the first phase recruits a sample of eligible youth and their parents, and a second phase fol-

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lows them for 2 or 3 additional years. Recruitment is broken into three national cross-sectional surveys, or waves, that each lasts about 6 months.

Data collection started in November and we completed the first nationally represented recruitment wave at the end of May. The second recruitment wave is now underway and the followup phase will commence simultaneous with the third recruitment wave in January 2001 and continue through June 2003.

I will now turn the microphone over to Mr. Hornik who will summarize our approach to the measurement of media campaign effectiveness.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Maklan follows:]

Testimony of:
David M. Maklan, Ph.D.
Vice President, Westat, Inc.
And
Robert Hornik, Ph.D.
Professor, Annenberg School for Communication

Hearing on "Evaluating the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign"

Before the House Government Reform Committee
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources
July 11, 2000

1. Opening Remarks

Mr. Chairman, Representative Mink, and distinguished members of the Subcommittee. I am pleased to be here today to discuss the ongoing evaluation of the Office of National Drug Control Policy's (ONDCP) National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

My name is David Maklan and I am a Vice President at Westat, the social science research organization selected by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) to undertake the Media Campaign's Phase III evaluation study. Westat is supported in this effort by our very capable subcontractor, the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication.

Accompanying me is Dr. Robert Hornik, Professor in Communication at Annenberg. Dr. Hornik and I serve as Co-Principal Investigators for the evaluation study. Dr. Hornik has lead responsibility for study design and analysis. I have overall responsibility for contractor performance with particular focus on study operations. Together with the Study's Project Director, Ms. Diane Cadell, and its Senior Statistician, Mr. David Judkins, we implement the evaluation design.

In the few minutes allotted to me, I will attempt to summarize the Evaluation Study's goals and design. Dr Hornik will then present a more focused discussion of how we plan to approach the measurement of Media Campaign effectiveness.

2. Goal of The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Strategy

The number one goal of *The National Drug Control Strategy* is to "Educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs as well as alcohol and tobacco." Objectives in support of that goal include "Pursue a vigorous advertising and public communications program dealing with the dangers of drug, alcohol, and tobacco use by youth." The President's drug control budget for FY1998 included proposed funding for a media campaign, which received bipartisan support in Congress. Under the Treasury-Postal Appropriations Act, 1998, the House and Senate approved funding (P.L. 105-61) for "a national media campaign to reduce and prevent drug use among young Americans."

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The Media Campaign has three primary goals:

- Educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs;
- Prevent youth from initiating use of drugs, especially marijuana and inhalants; and
- Convince occasional users of these and other drugs to stop using drugs.

The Campaign translated these three goals into a variety of efforts to reach the following target audiences with its messages: youth aged 9-11 (Young), youth aged 12 and 13 (Tweens), youth aged 14-18 (Teens), parents of these youth, and other influential adults.

ONDCP initiated the Media Campaign in three phases each with its own evaluation component:

- **Phase I** was a 26-week pilot test that was conducted in the first half of 1998 in 12 metropolitan areas across the country. To expedite implementation, television, radio, newspaper, and outdoor advertisements that had already been produced by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America (PDFA) were used. The Phase I Evaluation involved an experiment where 12 media market areas received paid anti-drug advertising and 12 additional markets did not. School-based surveys of youth were conducted near the beginning and the end of the 26-week Media Campaign period. There was also a telephone survey of parents as well as focus groups and interviews with relevant community members.

- **Phase II,** which was conducted from July 1998 until July 1999, released the Media Campaign to a national audience. New and existing advertisements were presented through television, radio, newspapers, magazines, schoolbook covers, movie theatres, and the Internet. The Phase II Evaluation involved national baseline and follow-up surveys of youth through their schools and of parents through a completely separate random telephone surveys. It also involved focus groups and site visits in 12 metropolitan areas.[1]

- **Phase III,** initiated in September 1999, marks the full implementation of the Media Campaign. Phase III will disseminate new advertising following the communications strategy developed for ONDCP by its Behavioral Change Expert Panel (BCEP) of outside scientists, as well as effective existing advertising. In addition to the advertising, Phase III includes a full range of media, and partnerships with the media, entertainment and sports industries, as well as civic, professional, and community groups.

3. Goals of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign (NYAMC) Evaluation Study

It is the task of our Evaluation Study to determine how successful the Phase III Media Campaign is in achieving its goals – to educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs; prevent youth from initiating use of drugs, especially marijuana and inhalants; and convince occasional use of these and other drug to stop their use.

While there are hundreds of questions that the Evaluation can and will attempt to answer, there is one overarching question -- to decide whether observed changes in drug use or drug

[1] Reports on the Phase I and Phase II Evaluations are available from ONDCP's clearinghouse and web site.

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attitudes can be attributed specifically to the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Operationally, this global question can be decomposed into four sub-questions:

1. Is the Media Campaign getting its messages to the target populations?
2. Are the desired outcomes going in the right direction?
3. Is the Media Campaign influencing changes in the outcomes?
4. What do we learn from the overall Evaluation that can support ongoing decision-making for the Media Campaign?

The range of additional questions that the Evaluation will attempt to answer is indicated by the following five major objectives of the study pertaining to the role of parents as mediators and confounders of Media campaign effectiveness with youth:

1. To measure changes in drug-related knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behavior in youth and their parents;
2. To assess the relationship between changes in drug-related knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behavior and their association with self-reported measures of media exposure;
3. To assess the association between parents' drug-related knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors and those of their children;
4. To assess changes in association between parents' drug-related knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors and those of their children that may be related to the Media Campaign.
5. To assess the extent to which community related drug prevention activities change in response to the Media Campaign and how these changes relate to changes in the other objectives.

4. Design of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Evaluation Study

When designing an evaluation study, it is reasonable to ask whether existing data collection systems can be used to provide the information needed to evaluate the effectiveness of the program being scrutinized. The Westat/Annenberg evaluation team believed from the start that data from three existing systems were crucial to measuring prevalence of substance use and certain attitudes related to substance use. These systems are the *National Household Survey on Drug Abuse* (NHSDA) sponsored by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), the *Monitoring the Future Study* (MTF) sponsored by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), and the privately funded Partnership Attitude Tracking Survey (PATS) run by the Partnership for a Drug Free America (PDFA).

However, the Media campaign is only one piece in the National Drug Control Strategy. Any change in drug prevalence rates among youth is likely to be a function of multiple causes besides the campaign. These include other Federal Government activities such as interdiction and crop eradication efforts; local government activities such as changes in local enforcement and

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judicial practices; changes in the number and effectiveness of school-based drug education programs; changes in the price of drugs; as well as a myriad of other forces. Some researchers have argued that there are epidemics in substance abuse that follow their own natural patterns of ebb and flow. Therefore, simply tracking usage rates is insufficient to identify the forces behind change. In order to be able to make reasonable claims that the Media Campaign was responsible for change, the Evaluation is designed to go well beyond analysis of trends from existing data.

The possibility of multiple causes for any change in drug abuse rates led to the development of a new national survey, named the National Survey of Parents and Youth (NSPY), that will emphasis measurement of drug attitudes, exposure to the Media Campaign, peer and family and other risk factors, in addition to drug abuse. This survey is not meant as a replacement for existing survey systems. To the contrary, the three existing systems will provide the primary measurements of change in drug use rates. While NSPY will also track change from 2000 through 2003, its principal purpose is to monitor the success of the Media Campaign in first reaching its target audiences and then convincing viewers to adopt desired attitudes, intentions, and behaviors.

The circumstances of the Phase III Media Campaign present serious challenges to the design of its evaluation. First, it was not possible to use an experimental approach to evaluate the Campaign. Experimentation would require conducting the Media Campaign in a random sample of media markets. This approach was ruled out on at least two grounds: (1) Excluding coverage of selected media markets was antithetical to the Campaign's goal of reaching out to ALL youth across America to help them avoid drug problems; and (2) The Campaign for Phase II was national in coverage and was already in full swing for a year prior to the start of Phase III. Hence, it was at least theoretically possible that no youth remained unexposed to the Campaign when Phase III of the Campaign commenced. Therefore, the general case-control evaluation approach adopted for Phase I was infeasible.

Instead of using experimentation to create sharp random variation in exposure to the Media Campaign, the Phase III Evaluation tries to evaluate the Campaign by studying natural variation in exposure to the Campaign and how this variation appears to correlate with phenomena predicted by the theoretical model for the campaign. This means comparing groups with high exposure to other groups with low exposure. To this end, we are planning on looking for variation across media markets, variation across time, variation within media markets at a single time, and variation across individuals. If variation can be found, it will then be necessary to study whether there are any pre-existing differences between the groups that might explain both the variation in exposure and any variation in outcomes. Consequently, we have designed the new NSPY survey to include many questions on personal and family history as well as measures of traits predicted by theory to be related to drug use. Examples of such traits include beliefs, attitudes, perception of social norms, sensation seeking, feelings of self-efficacy, intention for future behavior, and behavior itself.

The variables chosen for inclusion in the Phase III Evaluation are science based. We developed an overall model of Media Campaign influence, which is summarized by four figures attached to this document:

- Figure 1 presents the overall model of effects. It includes the model for Media Campaign influence in broad outline and names the categories of external variables likely to influence the process.

- Figure 2 lays out the processes through which the Media Campaign may influence individual exposure to anti-drug messages.

- Figure 3 outlines the influence paths of exposure to the Media Campaign on young peoples thinking about drugs, their perception about what others expect them to do, and their skills to resist drugs. In turn, the youth's changed thinking about drugs is meant to reduce his or her intention to try drugs or to graduate from trial to occasional or regular use of drugs.

- Figure 4 addresses the second strategy emphasized by the Media campaign – the parent component. The Campaign seeks to influence three distinct parent behaviors, each of which is modeled separately: (1) Figure 4A – parental monitoring; (2) Figure 4B – parent-child talk; and (3) Figure 4C – parental support for community anti-drug activity.

For a full description of these models and of the many other confounding influences that will be examined by the Phase III Evaluation, I refer the Committee to our forthcoming report entitled *Historical Trends in Drug Use and the Design of the Phase III Evaluation.*

5. The NYAMC Evaluation Survey

The Phase III Evaluation will use a very different methodology from that used for Phases I and II. The evaluation methodology adopted by NIDA and the Westat/Annenberg Evaluation Team is based on guidance from a panel of experts, Westat's 30 years of program evaluation and survey research experience, the Annenberg School for Communication's considerable communications research expertise, and lessons learned from the Phase I and Phase II Evaluations.

NIDA and the Evaluation Team decided to implement an integrated in-person household-based approach to surveying youth and their parents instead of continuing with separate school-based surveys of youth and telephone surveys of parents, as were used for both the Phase I and Phase II Evaluations. The new methodology also focuses on using computerized interviewing technology to get better measurements of exposure to anti-drug advertising.

The National Survey of Parents and Youth (NSPY) has a two-phase design where the first phase recruits a sample of eligible youth and their parents, and a second phase follows them for two or three additional interviews at one year intervals, as shown in Figure 5. The recruitment is broken into three national cross-sectional surveys, or Waves, that each last about six months. Together, the first three Waves will involve about 5,170 baseline interviews with parents and primary caregivers of youth aged 9 to 18 and 7,265 baseline interviews with their children and wards. Data collection started in November 1999 and we completed the first nationally representative recruitment Wave in early June 2000. The second recruitment Wave is now underway. The followup phase will commence simultaneous with the third recruitment Wave of data collection (January 2001) and continues through June 2003.

Some of the advantages identified for the integrated household approach are the following:

- Higher overall youth response rates (considering refusal by many schools to participate and the difficulties of obtaining parental consent for school-based surveys);

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- Higher overall parent response rates (considering the high telephone screener nonresponse rate for parents in telephone surveys);
- The ability to conduct longer interviews;
- The ability to use computers with visual and audio displays (ACASI) to better assure respondent privacy and allow media ads to be shown;
- The ability to have year-round data collection;
- Coverage of high-school dropouts and absentees;
- The ability to obtain background data about sampled youth from their own parents (instead of interviewing an unrelated set of parents);
- The ability to correlate changes in parental attitudes and behavior with changes in youth attitudes and behavior; and
- Improved ability to track the same youth during the followup phase.

The Evaluation Survey was also designed to minimize the chance of falsely concluding there is no benefit in the event that the Media Campaign does indeed produce some benefit. There are 10 specific ways in which the NSPY Survey reduces the chance of a false conclusion of "no effect" compared to an analysis restricted to existing data systems:

- Better measure of exposure to anti-drug media messages;
- Richer measures of beliefs and attitudes sensitive to the specific messages of the Media Campaign;
- Better quality of measures of marijuana and inhalant use;
- Inclusion of younger children;
- Opportunity to understand the paths of effects;
- Recognition that the Media Campaign may work through different paths;
- Evidence about the social context of effects;
- Opportunity to apply more powerful analytic techniques to sort out causal influences,
- Opportunity to confirm theories of adolescent development; and
- Measurement of local variation in pre-existing conditions and of participation in school and extra-curricular drug-education programs.

The design for the Evaluation Survey has been modified somewhat from that originally contemplated in order to strengthen the study's analytic ability to draw causal inferences on campaign effects, adjust for lessons learned during the study's design and initial data collection effort, and to increase cost efficiencies in sampling, screening, training, interviewing, and management activities. The Evaluation will continue to report study findings semi-annually with

the first such report scheduled for completion the end of August 2000. The Evaluation team will also undertake additional longitudinal analyses, including a Special Report following the final wave of data collection that will examine many of the possible causal chains influencing the relationship between the Media Campaign and youth substance abuse attitudes, intentions, and behavior.

I will now turn the microphone over to Dr Hornik who will summarize our approaches to the measurement of Media Campaign effectiveness.

6. Analytic Approaches to the Measurement of Media Campaign Effectiveness

As Dr. Maklan indicated, our task in the evaluation task is to answer four types of questions:

- Is the Campaign reaching its audiences?
- Is there desirable change in the outcomes addressed by the Campaign, in drug use behavior, and in the beliefs and attitudes that underpin that use?
- How much of the observed changes in outcomes can we attribute to the Campaign?
- What do we learn in the evaluation that will be helpful to the operation of the Campaign?

In the few minutes I have, I want to explain some of our approaches to answering each of these questions:

1. Measuring exposure to the Campaign:

   a) The Campaign will publish information about how much media time it has purchased. More specifically, for each audience of youth or parents, information will be available on the proportion who would have been in the audience for each ad, and all ads. Also, how many times in a given week would each ad, and all ads, have been seen. These are called reach and frequency and are summarized as gross ratings points, or GRPs.

   b) Our task with regard to exposure is to measure the extent to which that placement of the ads and other Campaign communication efforts broke through into the mind of the audience. Can they recall the ads and other messages that were shown?

   c) We do that in two ways:

      i. We ask a set of general questions about advertising recall for each channel: radio and television, print, movies, outdoor advertising, and internet. We ask whether and how often each respondent recalls seeing anti-drug messages from each source.[2] This duplicates the question asked on other surveys, although because we

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[2] A typical question is:

D10. In recent months, about how often have you seen such anti-drug ads on TV, or heard them on the radio?

Not at all..... 1
Less than 1 time a month..... 2

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ask specifically about a variety of media, we will have a somewhat elaborated view across the channels than available from other surveys which ask only about radio and television. But these measures, we admit, may be seen as a little soft. They ask respondents to summarize a lot of viewing or listening or reading experience and express it in a single number. These measures may be reasonably interpreted as providing a general sense of level of exposure, rather than a precise measure of recent exposure.

ii. To improve the precision of our exposure measurement, we have added a second major approach to exposure measurement recall of specific ads. Radio and television advertising represent the largest part of the advertising effort. We focus on those channels for this next type of measure. We are able to show each respondent up to four television ads and up to three radio ads at full length on their laptop computer. The ads we show are all ads that have been broadcast nationally in the previous two months according to the Campaign. We ask each respondent to tell us whether they have ever seen the ad, how often they seen the ad recently, and how they had evaluated the ad[3].

---

1 to 3 times a month	3
1 to 3 times a week	4
Daily or almost daily	5
More than 1 time a day	6

[3] D17a. Now we will show you some ads that might or might not have been playing on television around here. Have you ever seen or heard this ad? (PLAY TV AD.)

Yes	1	
No	2	(D18a)
REFUSED		(D18a)
DON'T KNOW		(D18a)

D17b. In recent months, how many times have you seen or heard this ad?

Not at all	1	(D18a)
Once	2	
2 to 4 times	3	
5 to 10 times	4	
More than 10 times	5	

D17e. Please indicate how much you disagree or agree with the following statements about this ad:

		Strongly disagree	Dis-agree	Neither agree nor dis-agree	Agree	Strongly agree
a.	This ad got my attention	1	2	3	4	5
b.	This ad was convincing	1	2	3	4	5
c.	This ad exaggerated the problem	1	2	3	4	5
d.	This ad said something important to me	1	2	3	4	5

We know that respondents might tell is that they have seen an ad even though they hadn't because they forgot or because they want to be agreeable. If we took all claims at face value we might overestimate exposure. So, we also ask each respondent whether he or she has seen an ad that had never been broadcast. This gives us a benchmark to assess true exposure.

d) In addition, we recognize that while the Campaign is spending much of its budget buying media time, it also seeks to enhance the extent to which anti-drug communication is in the air, more generally. It is working with national and local organizations; it is working with corporate partners; it is making efforts to disseminate information through the mass media generally through press releases and other public relations technology. To try and capture the extent to which these efforts are noticed by the target audiences, we have a series of measures which will detect change in these more general aspects of the public communication environment. We ask about frequency of exposure to anti-drug stories in a variety of media channels; we ask about the extent to which respondents have heard public discussion of several drug issues. We ask about the amount of talk within families and among friends about drug issues. For all of these measures we will see whether the intensity of campaign efforts are translating into changes in the perceived public communication environment about drugs.

2. The second evaluation question we address is whether the outcomes are moving in the right direction. We have developed fairly complex models based on existing theories of health behavior change and of communication effects. These suggest how the Campaign might work, if it were successful, and they have determined what we have measured. The outcomes we are measuring capture quite a range of objectives for this campaign:

a) We measure behavior of youth, of course: trial and regular use of marijuana, and of inhalants, primarily, with some additional measurement of alcohol and tobacco use. But we are also measuring the behaviors of parents thought to be relevant to drug use of their children – particularly parent-child discussions about drug use and parent monitoring of and engagement with their children's lives. We will measure past behavior, and intentions to engage in these behaviors in the near future.

b) We will measure the beliefs and attitudes that have been shown to be closely related to these behaviors. For example, with regard to youth drug use, we will measure beliefs about the health consequences and the mental functioning consequences and the performance consequences of drug use.

c) We will measure the perceived social pressures to engage in these behaviors, for example to use or not use drugs – what peers are doing, what confidence respondents have in their ability to resist drug use, what parents and friends would say about drug use.

Our first round of data collection will tell us what these beliefs and behaviors are now, and how they relate to each other. In particular we want to show the extent to which the beliefs and intentions are substantially related to behavior, to justify the Campaign's focus on changing those beliefs and intentions. In subsequent rounds we will look for change in these outcomes, and particularly for evidence that changes in these outcomes are related to degree of exposure to the Campaign.

3. The most difficult task we face is the third one: making a clear case for or against the influence of exposure to the Campaign on these outcomes, both overall, and for particular sub-populations of interest. How will we do it?

   a) Starting with wave two (and our report due in March of 2001) we will report about the association of exposure and outcomes. We will examine whether, for example, the youth who report heavy exposure to campaign messages are more likely to have desirable beliefs about the negative physical consequences of marijuana than do youth who report less exposure. We will use a sophisticated statistical technique called propensity scoring to reduce the risk that observed differences are the result of the influence of confounding variables rather than the result of the effects of exposure on outcomes.

   b) Starting with wave four (and our report due March of 2002) we will begin to supplement these cross-sectional causal analyses, and report longitudinal causal analyses. As Dr. Maklan explained, our current NSPY design has us following the same national sample of youth and their parents for three or four years. We will examine whether a young person who reported high versus low exposure on the first or second wave, progressed at a different rate to drug-related beliefs and practices in subsequent waves. Compared to the simple cross-sectional analysis, this will allow us to improve our ability to reject threats to causal claims related to confounding variables. In addition it will permit us to respond to concerns about reversed causal direction (that the cross-sectional association between exposure and beliefs is the result of beliefs affecting recall of exposure rather than exposure affecting beliefs.)

   c) We also intend to see whether the evidence for effects differs depending on the characteristics of the youth or his/her parents. Do effects differ depending on gender, or ethnicity, or parent's economic background? Do they differ depending on the child's personality characteristics (a high sensation seeker or not), depending on the behaviors of peers in the youth's social network, or depending on the interaction with parents in general, or about drug use. Do they vary depending on the youth's contact with other anti-drug institutions: schools, out-of-school programs, religious institutions or general media exposure?

   d) In addition, we recognize that some of the effects of the Campaign will be felt not just among individuals but among communities, more broadly. We intend to repeat some of these analyses at the level of the community, to see whether communities that have a relatively high versus low level of exposure to anti-drug messages show different patterns of progression on the outcome measures.

4. The final broad category for our research is the help we can provide to the ongoing Campaign. While our central task is evaluation, we think we will have evidence that can be exploited to improve Campaign operations. We will provide detailed information about exposure achieved and not achieved and what ads were remembered best by different subgroups of the population. This may help the Campaign in choosing among ads and in doing its media planning. We will also provide information about what beliefs seem to be most related to desired behaviors. That should help the Campaign in choosing priority messages.

This concludes our oral testimony. Dr. Maklan and I would be happy to answer any questions that the Subcommittee may have.

Figure 1
Overall model of Media Campaign influence

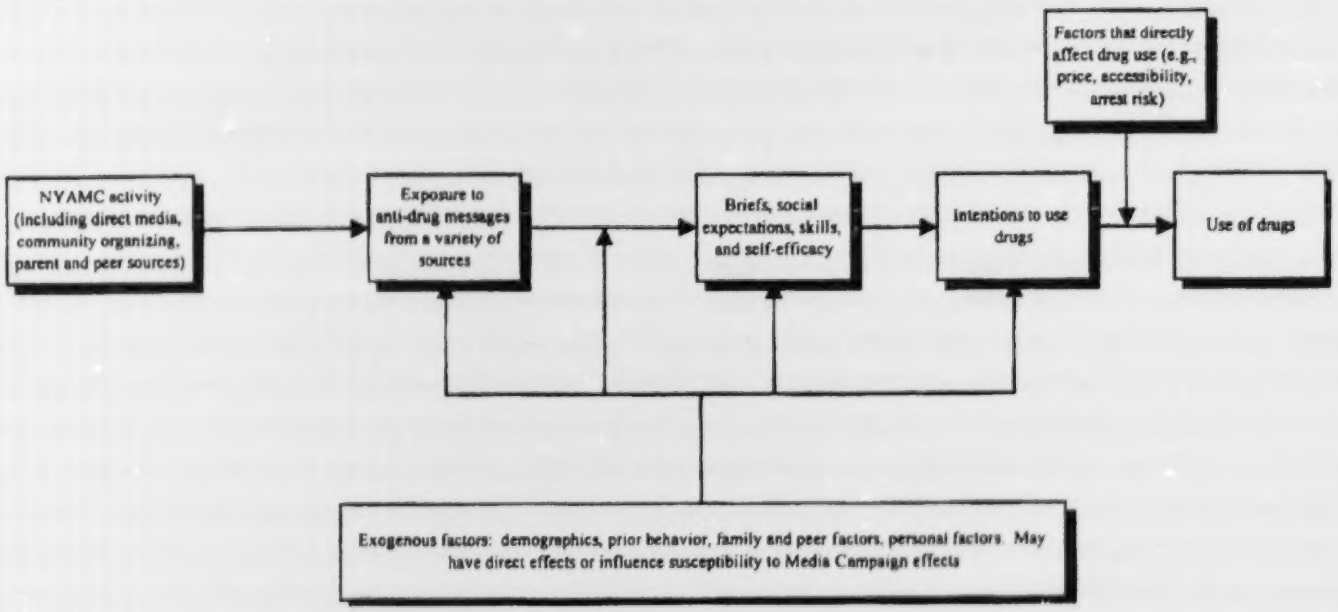
Factors that directly affect drug use (e.g., price, accessibility, arrest risk)
NYAMC activity (including direct media, community organizing, parent and peer sources)
Exposure to anti-drug messages from a variety of sources
Briefs, social expectations, skills, and self-efficacy
Intentions to use drugs
Use of drugs
Exogenous factors: demographics, prior behavior, family and peer factors, personal factors. May have direct effects or influence susceptibility to Media Campaign effects

Figure 2
Model of influences on exposure to anti-drug messages

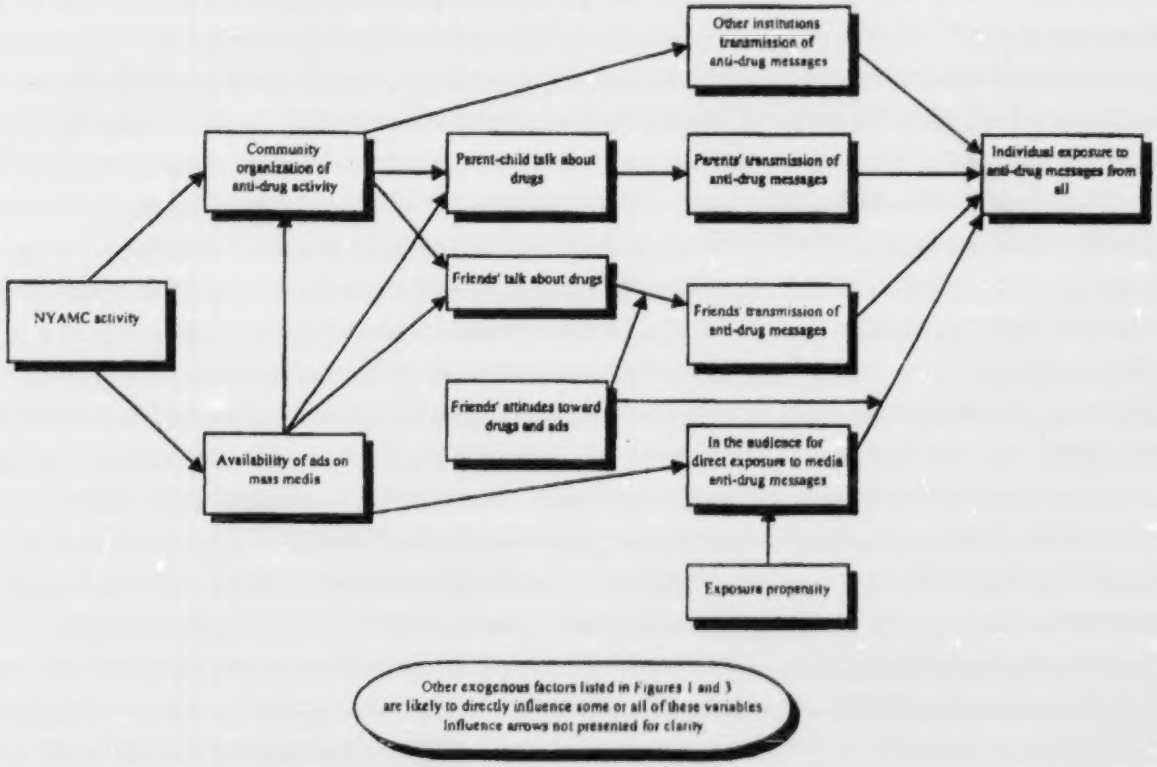
Other institutions transmission of anti-drug messages
Community organization of anti-drug activity
Parent-child talk about drugs
Parents' transmission of anti-drug messages
Individual exposure to anti-drug messages from all
Friends' talk about drugs
NYAMC activity
Friends' transmission of anti-drug messages
Friends' attitudes toward drugs and ads
Availability of ads on mass media
In the audience for direct exposure to media anti-drug messages
Exposure propensity
Other exogenous factors listed in Figures 1 and 3 are likely to directly influence some or all of these variables Influence arrows not presented for clarity

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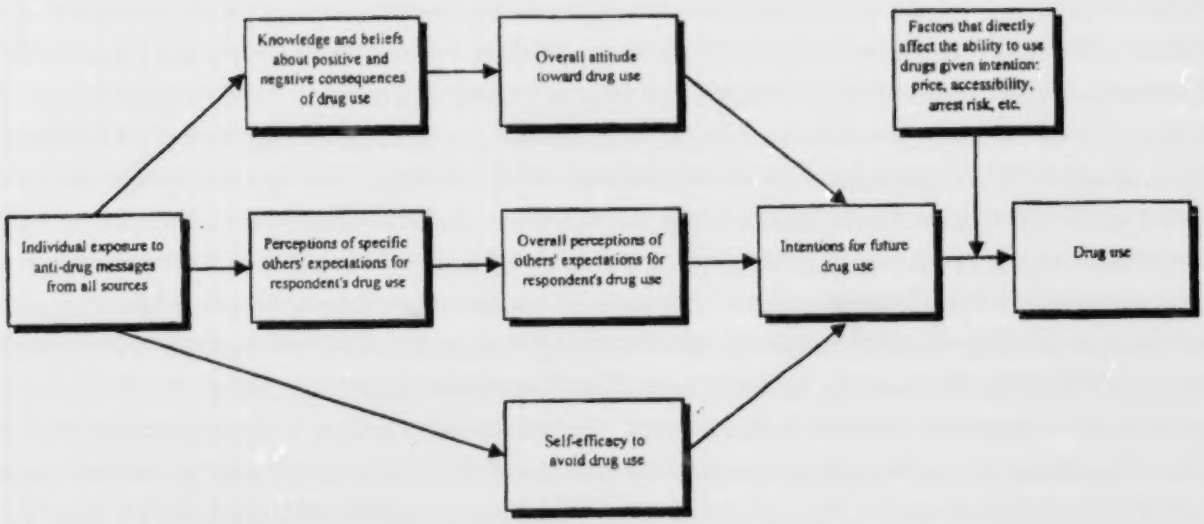
Figure 3
Model of influences of exposure to drug outcomes


Knowledge and beliefs about positive and negative consequences of drug use
Overall attitude toward drug use
Factors that directly affect the ability to use drugs given intention: price, accessibility, arrest risk, etc.
Individual exposure to anti-drug messages from all sources
Perceptions of specific others' expectations for respondent's drug use
Overall perceptions of others' expectations for respondent's drug use
Intentions for future drug use
Drug use
Self-efficacy to avoid drug use

Exogenous factors that may influence all variables in this model and may also influence susceptibility to effects of Media Campaign exposure on all belief and behavior outcomes. (Relationships not pictured for clarity.)		
Demographics: gender, age, ethnicity	Family and peer factors: parental monitoring, family functioning, friends' attitudes and behaviors, involvement with youth engaged in risk behaviors	Personal factors: sensation seeking, academic success, ambitions, religious involvement, drug experience

Figure 4A
Effects of parental monitoring

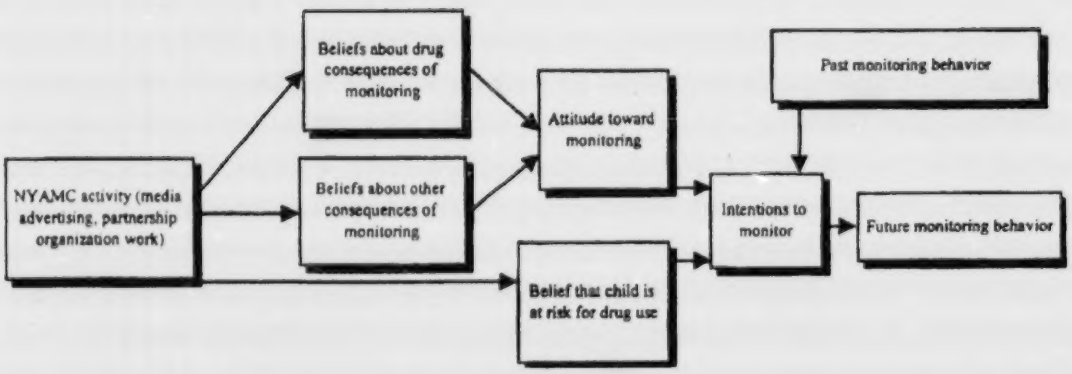

Beliefs about drug consequences of monitoring
Past monitoring behavior
Attitude toward monitoring
NYAMC activity (media advertising, partnership organization work)
Beliefs about other consequences of monitoring
Intentions to monitor
Future monitoring behavior
Belief that child is at risk for drug use

Figure 4B
Effects on parent-child talk

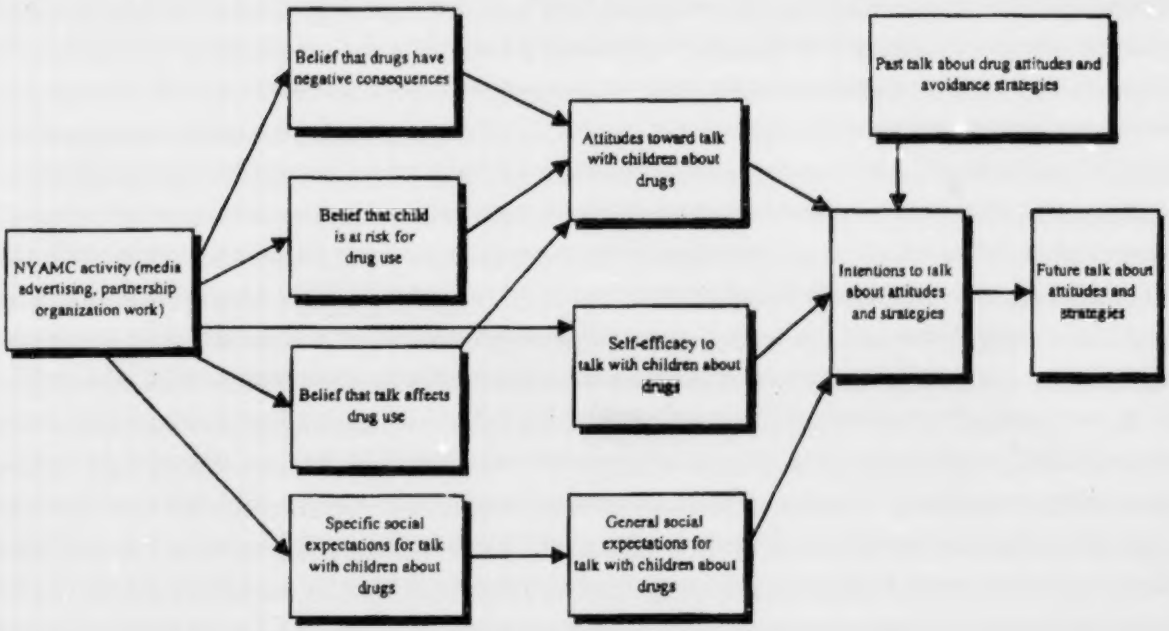

Belief that drugs have negative consequences
Belief that child is at risk for drug use
Belief that talk affects drug use
Specific social expectations for talk with children about drugs
NYAMC activity (media advertising, partnership organization work)
Attitudes toward talk with children about drugs
Self-efficacy to talk with children about drugs
General social expectations for talk with children about drugs
Past talk about drug attitudes and avoidance strategies
Intentions to talk about attitudes and strategies
Future talk about attitudes and strategies

Figure 4C
Effects on parental support for community anti-drug activity

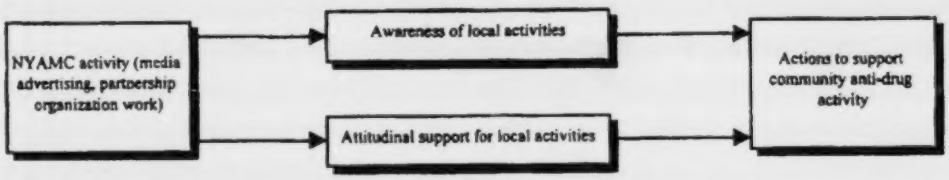

NYAMC activity (media advertising, partnership organization work)
Awareness of local activities
Attitudinal support for local activities
Actions to support community anti-drug activity

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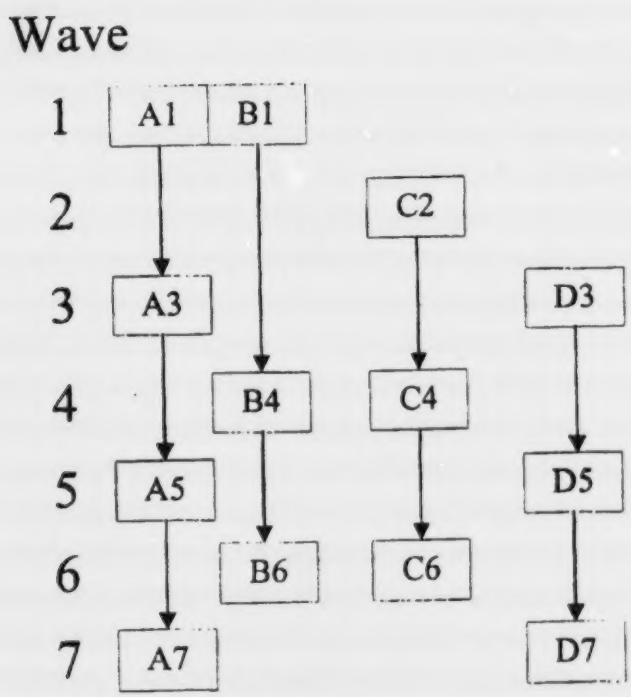
Figure 5
Sampling and setup plan for NSPY



Arrow indicates tracking and followup interviews of sample youth and parents.
Movers would be followed within original PSU and nearby areas.

Mr. MICA. Recognize at this time, Robert Hornik, professor with the Annenberg School of Communication. You are recognized, sir.

Mr. HORNIK. Our task is to answer four questions. We need to say whether the campaign is actually reaching its audience, whether there is desirable change in beliefs and outcomes, whether we can attribute those changes in beliefs and outcomes to the campaign itself, and what else we can learn that will help the campaign operate more effectively.

What are the approaches to answering those four questions? First, how do we measure exposure to the campaign's messages? As you know, the campaign will publish information about how much media time they have purchased for each channel and each audience of youth or parents, which they summarize as gross rating points.

Our task is to assess whether those campaign efforts broke through into the minds of the audience. Can they recall the ads and other messages that were shown. To do that, we really have three approaches. The first are fairly traditional, general questions about exposure, radio and television, print, movies, outdoor advertising and Internet. These measures provide a general assessment of exposure but really not a very precise one.

We also measure exposure in a unique and more powerful way. We show respondents up to four television ads and up to three radio ads at full length on their laptop computers. They actually get to see the ads. The ads we show are all ads that have been broadcast nationally in the 2-months previous to the interview. We ask each respondent to tell us whether or not and how often they have seen the ads and how they evaluate them.

In order to be sure people aren't just claiming to see ads when they haven't, we also ask each respondent whether he or she has seen an ad that has never been broadcast. That gives us a benchmark for true exposure.

We will also be measuring how the rest of the campaign, not only the ad campaign, is reaching audiences. We know the campaign is working with national and local organizations and corporate partners. It is disseminating information through press releases and other public relations technology. To capture those efforts, we ask about frequency of exposure to antidrug stories on a variety of media channels. We ask about the extent to which respondents have heard public discussion of several drug issues.

We ask about the amount of drug talk within families and among friends about drug issues. We will see whether the intensity of campaign efforts are translating into changes in what people hear and what they talk about.

The second evaluation question we addressed is whether the outcomes are moving in the right direction. We measure behavior of youth, of course, trial versus regular use of marijuana and inhalants primarily with some additional measurement of alcohol and tobacco use.

We measure the beliefs and attitudes that have been shown to be related to those behaviors. We measure the perceived social pressures to engage in these behaviors. For example, what peers are doing, what confidence respondents have in their ability to say

no to resist drug use, what parents and friends would say about drug use.

We are also measuring the beliefs and behaviors of parents, particularly parent/child discussions about drug use and parent monitoring of and engagement with their children's lives.

Our first round of data collection will tell us what these beliefs and behaviors are now and in subsequent rounds, we will look for change in those outcomes.

The most difficult task we face is the third one, making a clear case that the campaign caused any observed changes. Starting at the end of the first year with our report due in March 2001, we will report about the association of exposure and outcomes. For example, we will report whether the youth who report heavy exposure to campaign messages are more likely than others to have desirable beliefs about negative mental consequences of marijuana use.

We use a sophisticated statistical technique called propensity scoring to increase our confidence that observed differences are due to the campaign and not the result of outside causes.

Starting with our report due in March 2002, we will begin to supplement these cross sectional causal analyses with longitudinal ones. As Dr. Maklan explained, our current survey design follows the same national sample of youth and their parents for 3 or 4 years. We will know whether a teen's trajectory toward or away from drug use is influenced by early exposure to messages.

We will see whether those effects differ depending on the characteristics of the youth or depending on the attitudes of peers or depending on actions taken by his or her parents. We will see whether the effects differ depending on the youth's contact with other antidrug institutions—schools, out of school programs, religious institutions or general media exposure.

The final category for our research is the help we can provide to the ongoing campaign. While our central task is evaluation as independent evaluators, we think we will have evidence about exposure to advertising and about the link between beliefs and behavior that can be exploited to improve campaign operations. Later this summer, we will have the first of our semiannual reports based on data collected through the end of May. It will discuss exposures achieved in the first part of phase III based on beliefs and behaviors and the relationship to drug use.

So we think we have a strong evaluation design. We will follow the same nationally representative families and their children for 3 or 4 years. We will measure exposure ads in a unique and powerful way. We will see how the campaign works as it complements other forces in children's lives and we will have measures of each of the steps in the process from exposure to beliefs, to social norms, to skills, to intentions and behavior.

Thank you for your interest. Dr. Maklan and I would be pleased to respond to any questions.

Mr. MICA. I will start with a couple of questions. First, Mr. Maklan, how long have you had the contract for evaluation?

Mr. MAKLAN. The contract was signed at the end of September 1998.

Mr. MICA. What type of compensation or remuneration are the terms of the contract?

Mr. MAKLAN. The total contract value over the 5-year is slightly under $35 million.

Mr. MICA. Is that entirely Westat?

Mr. MAKLAN. Westat and our subcontractors.

Mr. MICA. You have that for the 5-years and you have been in it since September 1998?

Mr. MAKLAN. Correct.

Mr. MICA. You have a subcontractor?

Mr. MAKLAN. Our principal subcontractor is the Annenberg School.

Mr. MICA. How long has Annenberg School of Communication been a subcontractor?

Mr. MAKLAN. They were included in our original proposal before the work, so they have been on since day one.

Mr. MICA. One of the things that concerns me is this started in September 1998 and they have been on board since the beginning. I have a copy of a memorandum of NDRI, National Development Research Institute, progress report for March 2000, just a few months ago. It says summary of work and accomplishment of significant events, with a special report completed in December 1999. NDRI staff was uninvolved in any specific work under this contract during February 2000. No other work effort was requested by Westat staff. Problems encountered and suggested solutions, no problem arose except no work requests were obtained from Westat.

Several months ago I contacted Dr. David Maklan informing him one, we had not received ongoing communications regarding the status and progress. This had been agreed and had not received any information regarding the specific work that would be requested from NDRI beyond the December 1999 report.

We have you all involved in this evaluation, we have a subcontractor which you just testified has been on board as part of the original proposal. I have a memo that says up through March, the subcontractor, at least the ongoing communication, status and some of the progress reports, had not been collaborated or worked with the subcontractor.

Mr. MAKLAN. Mr. Congressman, we put together a team and the team members had specific roles. The NDRI was brought on board to help us think through the beginning of the design, aspects of the design and to help put together the instrument and think about some methodological issues.

The second task they were assigned that they were willing and able to pick up was to participate in special analyses I mentioned. There are semiannual reports and there are four special analyses that could be done under the contract. They were brought in to help work on those special analyses after the initial design phase. Those special analyses cannot really take place in great depth until we have data. The report they mentioned is here, has been delivered.

Mr. MICA. They were part of the contract from the beginning and they didn't have work to do until the initial data was compiled?

Mr. MAKLAN. No, sir. They had two activities. The first activity was to participate in the design and the design of the question-

naire. They were involved in that quite heavily, both their office in New York and their office in North Carolina. That phase ended. Their next assignment is going to be involvement in the special analyses reports. Only one such report has even been specified because the other three cannot take place and be specified until further on into the study. They did have a major role in that special report which is now at ONDCP and NIDA for their review and will be released shortly.

They had a major role. There are three chapters in there and they wrote much of the second chapter. After their work on that activity was completed, there was no more activity for them until we get to another place.

Mr. MICA. What is their compensation as a subcontractor? Mr. Hornik, maybe you could tell us?

Mr. HORNIK. I am not from NDRI, sir.

Mr. MICA. I know, but what are the terms of the subcontract to Annenberg?

Mr. HORNIK. $200,000 a year, about $1 million in total.

Mr. MICA. One of the questions and problems that has arisen is the evaluations from phases I and II produced certain information and data. There has been concern expressed about the inability to have that baseline transfer over into the evaluation in phase III. Is this a real problem? Have we evaluation and work from the first two phases that is not transferable into this third phase or a data base that doesn't match?

Mr. MAKLAN. They used a basic school-based methodology to collect information from students. As I said in my testimony, we did review that, had briefings from ONDCP and NIDA on that campaign. The information on the design and strengths and weaknesses of the two phases were discussed at the expert panels that NIDA put together. So we did learn a lot and NIDA learned a lot from those two previous studies.

It was the feeling of the expert panel and ourselves when we put together a proposal for how to do the study that given the real objective of phase III was to focus on does this campaign specifically impact behavior, attitudes and knowledge which was not the principal, detailed focus of the previous two phases, they had other objectives in mind, as well as looking at that, but ours was to look at that and we needed a methodology that was more pointed to that objective.

Mr. MICA. The baselines of data do not match, right? We don't have a comparison from the beginning through this year? We will not be able to compare phase I, phase II and phase III?

Mr. MAKLAN. That is absolutely correct. You have to remember phase I was done in 12 metropolitan areas so it was not a nationally representative sample, so you wouldn't want to go forward on that to evaluate a whole campaign. That was not the purpose of phase I.

In phase II, they used a school-based approach and there were other techniques that improved the objectives we were looking for.

Mr. MICA. The other thing we heard today is measuring the success of the program, evaluating the program as far as the impacted populations. First of all, with the minority population, we still see a lack of effectiveness in the program in the minority population,

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particularly the Hispanics by the data presented to the subcommittee.

The second you heard a lot of focus on is even the scope and nature of the drug problem is dramatically changing, since 1997 or 1998 when we started this. We are now talking about meth, designer drugs, substances that weren't even on the charts. Are we able to evaluate the effectiveness of the program that has been designed to deal with the emerging, changing dynamics of the drug problem?

Mr. HORNIK. Part of our evaluation will incorporate data that will represent a baseline. That is the material from the Monitoring the Future Study, the National Household Survey of Drug Abuse, and the survey from the Partnership for a Drug Free America. Our goal would be, for things we don't have our own measures for from a baseline, to try to capture from those surveillance systems where there are changes in terms of drug use and certain classes of attitudes and beliefs.

What we can do that they are unable to do? We have much more sophisticated measures of exposure to the campaign. That will allow us to try to attribute the specific changes we see to the specific campaign's influence.

The Congresswoman this morning was concerned about the claimed 13 percent decline, and asked whether it all comes from the program. This design will permit us to try to say not just that there is a decline, which is what we can get from the existing surveys, but also that the decline is likely due to operations of the campaign.

Mr. MICA. You have to understand our concern and our frustration because when we started, we committed a lot of money to evaluation of the program. Now, we are told we have a different data base baseline in phases I and II of the evaluation which can basically be thrown out or starting out in phase III and have a new data baseline.

Once the data is gathered, how long will it take to analyze the data and establish a baseline? When can we expect to have some solid evaluation of the results of the program?

Mr. HORNIK. In about a month. Our first report will be due at the end of August. We are writing it now on the basis of data collected through the end of May. That will be powerful in terms of describing the levels of exposure to advertising, and evaluation of ads. It will also describe existing beliefs and behavior.

In our next report, March 2001, we will begin to talk about the association between exposure and outcomes, to what extent are the kids who are exposed versus the kids who aren't exposed different in their beliefs and behavior, controlling for all those outside factors that might be influencing those two things.

Really in two phases, we will have some answer to your question. At the end of the summer, we will be talking about whether the campaign is reaching the audience and in March we will begin to talk about evidence for effects.

Mr. MAKLAN. It is important to recognize that ONDCP believes, as do a lot of others, that there are many paths to changing peoples' attitudes, knowledge and beliefs and these paths may take different lengths of time. In terms of assessing outcome, some out-

comes may happen in a short run for some people, and other outcomes will take longer for other people. So in terms of assessing the campaign's full impact, Mr. McCaffrey mentioned 10 years, we have to finish in 5 years from the start of our contract, but we will not know the full impact of the campaign over 5 years until that time.

Back to your second question on the changes and mentioning different drugs coming into play and so forth, our job is to evaluate the campaign that is out there. To that end, we meet and talk on the phone with Oglivy and the other members of Mr. McCaffrey's team as to what exactly they are doing, they are planning to do in the future and so forth. We work quite closely and very intensively with them to be able to determine exactly which ads they are going to be running, at what time, so we can show our respondents the ads that will be part of their campaign. We don't want to evaluate the wrong campaign, so we try very hard to keep abreast of whatever they are planning to do in the media campaign. That is what we are trying to influence.

We are going to go through revision of our instrument because the campaign is making a shift in response to changing circumstances and we are going to have to shift a little bit in terms of what we are doing to keep abreast of their efforts.

Mr. MICA. You are in the third year of the contract?

Mr. MAKLAN. We are still in the second year.

Mr. MICA. We expect some initial results based on the new evaluation process within the next 30–60 days?

Mr. MAKLAN. At the end of August or September.

Mr. MICA. Then with what frequency will we see evaluations?

Mr. MAKLAN. Every 6 months.

Mr. MICA. The other problem of concern is getting an evaluation that really gives us some measure of the effectiveness of the ads, any of the programs. We are funding most of this, two-thirds of this in ads and other programs. Are you involved in anything other than the ad evaluation?

Mr. MAKLAN. We are mostly involved in their media campaign efforts but I think Bob is a better person to ask.

Mr. MICA. Could you tell us? Mr. Forbes testified and we have had Mr. McCaffrey give us the percent spent on ads and media but there is another part of this and there is a substantial tens of millions of dollars going into other efforts. Are you also evaluating that part of the program?

Mr. HORNIK. Yes, we are in a variety of ways. First, we ask each child and adult about their involvement with other activities and ask whether they have had any exposure to drug education, anti-drug education activities. While the campaign isn't creating all of it, we should be able to see whether that is changing over time.

Similarly, we ask about levels of discussion in the home about drugs, from the parent's point of view, from the child's point of view and to try to see whether that is changing over time. One of the ways the program will work, if it works, is by creating a change in the public communication environment. How much noise there is in the environment about drugs? So we have a variety of measures that should be able to be sensitive to those changes as well.

While we are working particularly hard on the ad exposure part, we also have a variety of measures that are designed to capture the other aspects of the program.

Mr. MICA. Have you had complications in gathering the necessary data to conduct your evaluations, Mr. Maklan?

Mr. MAKLAN. I don't know of any large complicated survey that doesn't experience some difficulties. Yes, we have learned as we have gone along. One of the major problems we hit early on was we recruited many interviewers and at about the time we were recruiting, with a lot of competition from the Census and so forth, so we had to be careful in that effort. We have learned from that experience and digested what we have done to remain within the available funds.

Generally, I don't think we have experienced anything that in any way will jeopardize our effectiveness to evaluate the campaign. We will be collecting data from over 5,000 parents and over 7,000 kids multiple times for each of those respondents. Our response rates are quite nice, so we are not worried about the long run ability to conduct and provide useful information to the committee and elsewhere.

Mr. MICA. Another concern the subcommittee has is there is a $35 million price tag to this evaluation over 5 years. It sounds like we have done several phases initially and I am sure there is some substantial cost and set up. What percentage of the contract has already been expended or incumbered?

Mr. MAKLAN. I don't have the exact number, sir, but it is somewhere around 15 to 18 percent—I am sorry. It is close to about 35 percent.

Mr. MICA. Once the original survey is done and we establish the data base, is there any possibility of there being reduced costs at the other end or is this already a fixed contract we are obligated to?

Mr. MAKLAN. In order to accomplish the design and come up with the sample size to make any real meaningful statements of cause and effect, we are going to need the full resources of the contract.

Mr. MICA. Could you supply the subcommittee with the specific amounts that have been expended to date and received by Westat and exactly where we are and what you anticipate your expenditures to be?

Mr. MAKLAN. Yes, I would be glad to.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Forbes, you have spent a great deal of time looking at this whole program as a professional journalist and conducted a good deal of investigative reporting. You said today that some of the figures that have been given by ONDCP about what is spent on media was not what was intended by Congress, where most of the money should go. Maybe you could tell us where you got the information? I think you said $120 million of the total going to ad buys. You also felt that the major contractor was also taking an inordinate amount for administration of the program. Could you elaborate on what you think should be done and what is being done?

Mr. FORBES. Inordinate is your characterization; I simply supplied the figures I was confident of. My posture before this commit-

tee is to adopt the same standards that apply to me as a journalist publishing in the national arena. I would feel very confident in using these figures in any article I publish, they would be independently fact checked by a separate journalist. However, people would lose jobs faster than your head would spin if I mentioned their names in this committee.

The $120 million figure was given to me by at least four individuals. The figures of $10 million contribution to overhead and $8 million for staff salaries at Oglivy has been given to me by two individuals with knowledge of this. That is the standard for publication. I also felt comfortable with that because as I mentioned ONDCP's fiscal year 2000 operating plan, of which I have a copy, indicates $21 million for Ogilvy is listed as labor/production, nothing to do with purchase of ads. That corroborates the basic ballpark figure.

When I use that $18 million total that was on the low range of what I was told. My sources indicated that it may have been a couple million higher but I was conservative in my estimation.

Mr. MICA. There also has been a great deal of controversy about the match credit. Under the law, we put certain amounts of hard Federal dollars in this but we also require a match credit. You heard the Director of the Office of Drug Control Policy say there are new guidelines. Have you reviewed the guidelines? Are these adequate? Are these understandable and do you think they will clear up the controversy?

Mr. FORBES. I have been extremely reluctant to visit the ONDCP Web site from my professional computer. I say that not in jest. I was aware of the guidelines that were established in January as the Washington Post editorial put it, shortly thereafter characterizing ONDCP's response, "No, we have not reviewed scripts in advance and by the way, we will not do it again."

As a journalist, I was quite intrigued to hear Mr. McCaffrey's characterization of new guidelines and as soon as I can get myself to a service bureau, I certainly will go on their Web site. I cannot speak directly to them.

Mr. MICA. What do you think the impact of this controversy has been on participation of the media and also credibility of the campaign?

Mr. FORBES. The participation, certainly ABC has indicated they are pulling back. Some of the other networks have indicated their distaste for this, the distaste for the metaphorical spanking that they were given by the press. Magazines have certainly pulled back. You mentioned Ms. Bullard's letter, the chief of the USA Today Week End.

It is a conundrum frankly because of the fact the embedded messages in programming are far more effective than advertisements. Any ad, however slick, however glamorous, a woman destroying a kitchen with a frying pan, is greeted by defensive screen. It is well established in the public health field that favored characters, modeling behavior, over the course of a half hour or a hour long show will actually affect behavior.

On the other hand, the question arises is the public comfortable with that, with the government influencing television content with

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financial incentives to that degree? It is a conundrum for the American people to decide.

Mr. MICA. We appreciate your comments to the subcommittee and participation. You have provided us with some areas we may want to review and some criticism of the program. I don't know if you had other areas you wanted to cite at this time to bring to the attention of the subcommittee?

Mr. FORBES. No. I certainly appreciate your attention and thank you for the invitation.

Mr. MICA. I don't want to cut you short. We do have three votes on the floor and I do want to thank both Mr. Maklan and also Mr. Hornik for their participation. We will also have some additional questions from the subcommittee and we have requested some data in the hearing today.

Since we have votes, we will recess the subcommittee for lunch for 1 hour and reconvene at 1:15 p.m. I will excuse this panel at this time.

Thank you for your participation and cooperation.

[Recess.]

Mr. SOUDER [PRESIDING]. Our next panel consists of: Renee Jones, the program director for the Academy for Boys, along with Kevin, Ibn, and Kati.

Thank you for being patient with us. We had a series of votes between 12 noon, and 1 p.m. that scattered us.

All your testimony will appear in the record in the hearing books. I am looking forward to hearing your testimony. Ms. Jones.

STATEMENTS OF RENEE JONES, PROGRAM DIRECTOR, ACADEMY FOR BOYS; KEVIN EVANS, YOUNG PERSON, MARYLAND; IBN, YOUNG PERSON, MARYLAND; AND KATI, YOUNG PERSON, ORLANDO, FL

Ms. JONES. Good afternoon.

My name is Renee Saunders-Jones, director, Karma Academy for Boys. I have been there since 1987.

I am humbled and honored to speak to you on behalf of my program, Karma Academy for Boys, and the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

Karma Academy is a long-term, residential treatment program for adolescent boys between grades 9 and 12. We provide treatment from a holistic, therapeutic approach. The residents receive therapeutic treatment from trained therapists, receive their high school education from Montgomery County teachers who come to Karma's facility to teach. As a matter of fact, three residents just graduated from high school this past June.

The residents learn job readiness skills by being responsible for all of the household chores, meals, laundry, etc., as a group. Every month the residents participate in a wilderness challenge program. For example, they just returned from a whitewater rafting trip. They go caving, camping, hiking and rapelling, to name a few activities.

The majority of the residents' time is spent in therapeutic groups. We have a chemical dependency group, Narcotics Anonymous comes every week and present. We also have a juvenile sex offender treatment program, confrontation group which deals with

anger management, psychotherapy groups, groups for survivors of sex abuse, survivors of physical abuse, and grief recovery. We also facilitate a multifamily group and individual family groups every week for the residents and their families.

The program is confrontational in nature and holds each resident responsible for their behavior as well as for their fellow residents' behavior. The program has three major objectives that each resident must master before they can graduate from the program.

The three components are: each resident must take responsibility for their own behavior; each resident must work through their family issues and each resident must work toward completing their high school education. The parents or guardians must participate in the treatment with the youth.

Karma has been in existence since 1971 and is located in Rockville, MD. Since the beginning of Karma, we have worked with over 650 young men along with their families. Many of our graduates have their own businesses, have served in the armed forces and are hard working, tax paying citizens. Our success rate is about 35 to 40 percent.

Many of the youth that come to Karma arrive through the court system of the Department of Juvenile Justice. They have committed a crime or violated their probation and need a comprehensive treatment program that will deter them from becoming a hardened juvenile criminal.

I have witnessed firsthand how illegal drugs have caused many youth to feel that it was virtually impossible for them to change and have a future. Julian was one such youth. He had been on drugs since age 12. He had used alcohol and all types of drugs, marijuana, heroin, LSD, cocaine and various other types of pills. He was from a middle-class, white family from the Eastern Shore.

When I met him at Karma he was 16. He had been to three other treatment programs and was still in need of treatment. He was on prescription medication for depression when he was admitted to Karma. By the way, none of our residents are on prescription medication to control their behavior. Either they learn how to control their behavior and express their feelings appropriately or they lose the opportunity to work at Karma.

Julian's parents were discouraged and unwilling to participate in our treatment program in the beginning. However, I agreed if they would come initially once a month to the family meetings, I would admit Julian to the program.

Julian was not used to working on his issues but he was used to getting over on staff and having his own way. He soon found out that the longer he fooled around at Karma, the longer he would stay at Karma. After almost 4 months of testing our program, Julian decided that he didn't need to be on any medications. After that decision was approved by the psychiatrist, his parents and our staff, Julian began to make progress.

Within 3 months, he was one of the most respected leaders among his peers. Julian graduated from Karma in 1999 and graduated from high school this past June 2000. It took him 16 months to complete our program. However, now he has been enrolled and accepted to enter the Air Force. He is a new person with a new at-

titude. It took a lot of hard work on everyone's part for Julian to become successful.

Julian's family shared their doubts and fears of him ever amounting to anything significant prior to his coming to Karma on the night of the graduation with new families. Now they are looking forward to his accomplishments and his personal success in the Air Force.

I have observed that youth are motivated to change their lives for the following reasons: one, when they see an adult, a staff, family member or teacher or mentor genuinely believes they have the ability to change; two, when they experience success in areas where they have failed; three, when they learn how to express their feelings without acting them out in a negative manner; four, when they hear from people who tried the negative and inappropriate paths of life and failed; and five, when they understand there is power and healing in forgiving others and in one's self.

For some youth, I have seen how giving their lives to God has helped them to realize they can have a new life regardless of the negative actions they had been involved in their past. I believe in order for the youth of America to become drug free, we as Americans must see each young person as our own. We must become willing to reach out and touch their lives in a way that will have meaning and impact. Parents must stop working hard and long hours and spend time at home with their families.

Extended family members have to take the time to share their live experiences with the younger members of their families so that the youth can learn from their experiences. We must provide positive activities for the youth so that their time will not become idle.

Last month, I went with the residents to visit a maximum security prison in Jessup, MD. The residents participated in the Reason Straight Program. The impact of the inmates sharing their stories of how and why they were incarcerated for life influenced several of the residents at Karma to become more diligent and dedicated to working through their treatment issues when they returned to the program.

I believe if the youth of America could hear from reformed notorious drug lords like Rafel Edmunds, who is now a participant in a program like Reason Straight in a penitentiary in Pennsylvania via television media, many youth would think twice about becoming a part of that lifestyle.

I believe that men and women who are incarcerated but who have been rehabilitated should be a part of the anti-drug media campaign. The most effective media campaign against drugs should consist of real graphic facts about the results drugs will have on a young person's life in today's world. We must no longer take a soft approach in this campaign. We must say it loud and say it strong, drugs destroy and they will destroy any person who allows the substance to be a part of their lifestyle.

I recommend that funding is made available for cities and States to sponsor activities in the communities that would appeal to families with children of various ages. Youth need a place to go in their community that is safe and drug-free. We need to increase the community activity centers in the neighborhoods all over America.

In order to affect change among the youth of America, the media campaign to be drug-free must speak to the diverse group of American youth.

I look forward to being of further assistance to you as we work together to rid America of drug abuse and drug distribution. We must let America know that drugs are tools of destruction.

Thank you for this opportunity to make a difference for my country and may God bless America.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Jones follows:]

Renee Saunders Jones' Speech to the United States Congress for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign July 11, 2000

Goodmorning Distinguished Members of Congress: My name is Renee Saunders Jones. I am the Director for Karma Academy for Boys, since 1988. I am humbled and honored to speak to you on behalf my program, Karma Academy for Boys and the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

Karma Academy is a long-term residential treatment program for adolescent boys between grades 9 and 12. We provide treatment from a wholistic therapeutic approach. The residents receive therapeutic treatment from trained therapists, receive their high school education from Montgomery County teachers, who come to Karma's facility to teach. As a matter of fact, three residents graduated from high school this past June. The residents learn job readiness skills by being responsible for all of the household chores, meals, laundry, etc. as a group. Every month the residents participate in a wilderness challenge activity. For example, they just returned from a white-water rafting trip. They go caving, camping, hiking, repelling, just to name a few activities.

The majority of the residents' time is spent in therapeutic groups. We have a chemical dependency group, juvenile sex offender group, confrontation group, psychotherapy group, survivors of sex abuse group, survivors of physical abuse group, and grief recovery group. We also facilitate a multiple family group and individual family groups for the residents and their families weekly.

The program is confrontational in nature and holds each resident responsible for their behavior as well as their fellow resident's behavior. The program has three major objectives that each resident must master before they can graduate from the program. They are: 1. Each resident must take responsibility for their own behavior; 2. Each resident must work

through their family issues, and 3. Each resident must work toward completing their high school education. The parents or guardians must participate in the treatment with the youth. Karma has been in existence since 1971 and is located in Rockville, MD. Since the beginning of Karma we have worked with over 650 young men along with their families. Many of our graduates have their own businesses, have served in the armed services, and are hard working, tax paying citizens.

Many of the youth that come to Karma arrive through the court system of the Department of Juvenile Justice. They have committed a crime or violated their probation and need a comprehensive treatment program that will deter them from becoming a hardened juvenile criminal. I have witnessed first hand how illegal drugs have caused many youth to feel that it was virtually impossible for them to change and have a future.

Julian was one such youth. He had been on drugs since age 12. He had used alcohol, all types of drugs marijuana, heroin, LSD, Cocaine and various other types of pills. He was from a middle class, white family from the Eastern Shore. When I met him at Karma he was 16 and had been to three other drug treatment programs and was still in need of treatment. He was on prescription medication for depression when he was admitted to Karma. By the way, none of our residents are on prescription medication to control their behavior. Either they learn how to control their behavior and express their feelings appropriately or they lose their opportunity to work at Karma. Julian's parents were discouraged and unwilling to participate in our treatment program in the beginning. However, I agreed that if they would come initially for once a month to family meetings I would admit Julian into the program. Julian was not used to working on his issues but was used to getting over on staff. He soon found out that the longer he fooled around at Karma the longer he would stay at Karma. After almost four months of testing our program, Julian decided that he didn't need to be on any medications. After that decision was approved by the psychiatrist, his parents, and the

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staff, Julian began to make progress. Within three months he was one of the most respected leaders among his peers. Julian graduated from Karma in 1999, and graduated from high school this past June 2000. He is on his way to Air Force. He is a new person, with a new attitude. It took a lot hard work everyone's part for Julian to become successful. Julian's family shared their doubts and fears of Julian ever amounting to anything significant prior to his coming to Karma with the new families on their graduation night. Now they are looking forward to his accomplishments and his personal success in the air force.

I have observed that youth are motivated to change their lives for the following reasons: 1. When they see that an adult (staff, family, teacher, mentor, etc.) genuinely believe that they have the ability to change; 2. when they experience success in areas where they have failed; 3. when they learn how to express their feelings without acting them out in a negative manner; 4. when they hear from people who tried the negative and inappropriate paths of life and failed and 5. when they understand that their is power and healing in forgiving others and one's selve. For some youth I have seen how giving their lives to God has helped them realize that they can have a new live, regardless of the negative actions they had been involved with in their past.

In order, for the youth of America to become drug free, I believe we as Americans must see each young person as our own. We must become willing to reach out and touch their lives in a way that will have meaning and impact. Parents must stop working hard and long hours, and spend time at home with their families. Extended family members have to take the time to share their life experiences with the younger members of their families, so the youth can learn from their experiences. We must provide positive activities for the youth, so that their time will not become idle.

Last month I went with the residents to visit a Maximum Security Prison in Jessup, Maryland. The residents participated in the REASON STRAIGHT PROGRAM. The impact of

inmates sharing their stories of how and why they were incarcerated for life influenced several of the Karma residents to become more diligent and dedicated to working through their treatment issues when they returned back to Karma.

I belief that if the youth of America could hear from reformed notorious drug lords, like Rafel Edmonds- who is now a participant in a program like Reason Straight in a penitentiary in Pennsylvania via the television media many youth would think twice about becoming a part of that lifestyle.

I believe that men and women who are incarcerated, but are rehabilitated should be a part of the anti-drug media campaign. The most effective media campaign against drugs should consist of real graphic facts about the results drugs will have on a young person's life in todays world. We must no longer take a soft approach in this campaign. We must say it loud and say it strong -- Drugs destroy and they will destroy any person who allows the substance to be a part of their lifestyle.

I recommend that funding is made available for cities and states to sponsor activities in the communities that would appeal to families with children of various ages. Youth need a place to go in their community that is safe and drug free. We need to increase the community activity centers in the neighborhoods all over America. In order to effect change among the youth of America the media campaign to be drug free must speak to the diverse groups of American youth.

I look forward to being of further assistance to Congress as we work together to rid America of drug abuse and drug distribution. We must let America know that drugs are tools of destruction. Thank you for this opportunity to make a difference for my country and may God Bless America.

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Mr. SOUDER. Thank you very much.

Your turn, Kevin.

Mr. EVANS. Good morning, Members of Congress.

My name is Kevin Evans. I am happy and honored to be here to speak on behalf of Karma Academy for Boys and the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

I have been a resident at Karma Academy for 17½ months. I have been there to receive help and treatment for many issues including drug usage and drug distribution. I am here to share my views on the media campaign against drugs, what methods I think would be beneficial to keep American youth from using drugs and how Karma Academy has helped me decide to never sell illegal drugs again. While at Karma, I have also developed a positive mental attitude to remain drug-free.

I live in Charles County, MD. My mother is a single parent with two children. My mother had struggled financially and I decided to help her by selling drugs to purchase food and clothing for myself and my sister. I also had a paper route which she thought was the method I was using to make money.

Initially, I did not use drugs, I sold them. I began to use drugs because of the problems in my life and peers I hung around with. My drug problem affected my family relationship, my school and my social interaction with others. I used drugs for 3 years. I started when I was 12 years old.

Yes, I remember the TV ads about just say no to drugs, the ad commercial which said this is your brain on drugs and the young girl running around smashing things, stating this is what drugs will do to you. Those commercials caught my attention while I was watching TV but when I had to make a decision as to whether I would use drugs, I never thought about those commercials.

I am not saying the commercials weren't good, but that they did not impact me strong enough to influence me not to use drugs. I think the most effective commercials and advertisements against drugs should demonstrate just what drugs would do to the human body. I think they should be played on TV and videos should be mailed to homes once a month that have teenagers.

I have seen videos like these while at Karma and they made a powerful impact on me. The commercials should be relevant to today's youth issues and not out of date. I think people who are recovering addicts should share their stories about negative impacts of drugs on their lives in commercials because it is real coming from them.

I would also like to suggest that more funding go to providing recreational centers and activities for teenagers and young people in their communities. Many times teens use drugs because there is nothing else to do. Teenagers need appropriate places to go and hang out and talk with their friends and appropriate adults. I believe if there had been a recreation center in my community, the drug usage among teenagers would be lower. The drug dealers in the community always provided a place for teens to hang out but drugs also came along with it.

While I have been in Karma, I have learned the real facts about the negative impacts drugs will have on my life. I have also had the opportunity to participate in various wilderness activity pro-

grams, for example, whitewater rafting, rapelling and camping, just to name a few. These are activities that I now know and enjoy. The teens in my neighborhood have never had these experiences.

Karma's program allowed my mother and I to rebuild our relationship and to learn how to communicate with one another. I now know how important it is for teens to be able to talk with their parents openly. I am thankful that I had the opportunity to come to Karma, although initially for the first 3 months, I would ask the Director, Renee, to let me go to another program where there were girls.

However, the staff worked with me and never gave up on me and now I am about to graduate from the program before the summer ends, I hope. I know that programs like Karma make a difference in teenagers lives because it made a difference in my life. I am now aspiring to become a chef. I look forward to my future and to going home a new person.

Thank you for this opportunity to speak on behalf of my country. I want to see America become drug free.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Evans follows:]

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KEVIN EVANS' SPEECH TO UNITED STATES CONGRESS FOR THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN JULY 11, 2000

GOODMORNING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS,
My name is Kevin Evans. I happy and honored to be here to speak on behalf of Karma Academy for Boys and the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

I have been a resident at Karma Academy for Boys for 17 1/2 months. I have been there to receive help and treatment for many issues, including drugs usage and drug distribution. I am here to share with you my views on the media campaign against drugs, on what methods I think would be beneficial to keep America's youth from using drugs and how Karma Academy has helped me to decide to never sell illegal drugs again. While at Karma I have also developed a positive mental attitude to remain drug free.

I live in Charles County Maryland. My mother is a single parent of two children. My mother was struggling financially and I decided to help her out by selling drugs to purchase food and clothing for myself and my sister. I also had a paper route which she thought was the method that I was using to make money. Initially I did not use drugs I just sold them. However, after a while I began to use drugs because of the problems in my life and peers that I hung around with. My drug problem affected my family relationships, my school and social interactions with others. I used drugs for three years. I started when I was 12 years old.

Yes, I remember the TV ads about "just say NO to drugs", the egg commercial, which said "this is your brain on drugs" and the young girl running around smashing things stating "this is what drugs will do to you". Those commercials caught my attention while I watching TV, but when I had to make the decision as to whether I would use drugs, I never thought about those commercials. I am not saying the commercials weren't good, but that they did not impact me strong enough to influence me to not use drugs.

I think the most effective commercials and advertisements against drugs should demonstrate just what drugs will do to the human body. I think they should be played on TV and videos should be mailed to homes once a month that have teenagers. I have seen videos like these while at Karma and they made a powerful impact on me. The commercials should be relevant to today's youth issues and not out of date. I think people who are recovering addicts should share their story about the negative impact of drugs have on life in commercials, because it's real coming from them.

I would also like to suggest that more funding go to providing recreational centers and activities for teenagers and young people in their communities. Many times teens use drugs because there is nothing else to do. Teenagers need appropriate places to go, to hang out and to talk with their friends and appropriate adults. I believe that if there had been a recreation center in my community the drugs useage among teenagers would be lower. The drug dealers in the community always provide a place for teens to hang out, but drugs go along with the place.

While I have been at Karma I have learned the real facts about the negative impact that drugs will have on my life. I have also had the opportunity to participate in various wilderness activitiy programs. For example, I have been caving, whitewater rafting, rapelling, and camping just to name a few. These are activities that I now know and enjoy. The teens in my neighborhood have never had these experiences.

Karma's program allowed my mother and I to rebuild our relationship and to learn how to communicate with one another. I know now how important it is for teenagers to be able to talk with their parents openly.

I am thankful that I had the opportunity to come to Karma. Although, initially for the first three months I would ask the Director, Renee, to let me go to another program where there were girls. However, the staff worked with me and never gave up on me and know I am about to graduate from the program before summer ends, I hope.

I know that programs like Karma make a difference in teenagers lifes, because it made a difference in my life. I am now aspiring to become a chef. I look forward to my future and to going home a new person. Thank you for this opportunity to speak on behalf of my country. I want to see America become drug free.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you very much for coming today, Kevin.
Ibn.

Mr. MUHAMMAD. Good morning, Congress. My name is Ibn Muhammad.

I am happy to be here to speak on behalf of the Karma program and the National Media Campaign against drugs.

I have been at Karma for over 15 months for issues other than drug using or drug selling. I made a choice when I was 15 years old to not use drugs or sell drugs. In my neighborhood in Baltimore, I saw firsthand the bad effects of illegal drugs on friends and neighbors that didn't have a job, a place to live or food to eat. All they did was hang on the corner using drugs and selling drugs.

I remember the ad on TV using an egg to show what happens to your brain when you use drugs. I also remember the ad where the young lady slams the frying pan all over the place. These ads stood out in my mind as the effect drugs could have on me. When I saw the people in the neighborhood using drugs, I thought of the TV ads, of the lady with the frying pan and the egg.

My grandfather's use of drugs also had a great impact on me not to use drugs. He talked to me often about how bad drugs would affect me, my family if I brought them into the house. He also talked to me about how drugs would hurt me and destroy my future. His words helped me to keep drugs out of my life. I think if more parents and grandparents talked to their teenagers about the horrible impact drugs would have on them and their families, many teenagers would not use drugs.

I think ads that show how illegal drug use will affect a teenager's life would stop a teenager from using drugs. While I have been at Karma, my choice to remain drug free became stronger. Every week we have a therapeutic group called Chemical Dependency Group. The group watches videos and discuss how drugs hurt the body and learn firsthand how drug use has affected our families in a bad way. We read and discussed articles about drugs. Also at Karma every week we hear from recovering addicts from Narcotics Anonymous, different people who come and share their life stories about using illegal drugs.

All these experiences impact me in a strong way. I know I will never use any illegal drug as long as I live. The knowledge I have now has made a big positive difference in my life.

I thank you for having this opportunity to speak and to make a difference in my country.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Muhammad follows:]

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IBN MUHAMMAD'S SPEECH TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS FOR THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN JULY 11, 2000

Good Morning Congress, my name is Ibn Muhammad. I am happy to be here to speak on behalf of the program, Karma Academy for Boys and the National Media Campaign Against Drugs.

I have been at Karma for over 15 months for issues other than drug usage or drug selling. I made a choice when I was 15 years old to not use drugs or sell drugs. In my neighborhood, in Baltimore, I saw first hand the bad effects of illegal drugs on friends, and neighbors. They didn't have a job, a place to live, or food to eat. All they did was hang on the corner, use drugs and sell drugs.

I remembered the ad on TV using an egg to show what happened to your brain when you use drugs. I also remember the ad with the young lady slamming the frying pan all over the place. These ads stood out in my mind, as to the terrible effects drugs could

have on me. When I saw the people in the neighborhood using drugs, I thought of the TV ads of the lady with the frying pan and the egg.

My grandfather's views on drugs also had a great impact on me not using drugs. He talked to me often about how bad drugs would effect my family if I brought them into the house. He also talked to me about how drugs would hurt me and destroy my future. His words helped me to keep drugs OUT of my life.

I think that if more parents and grand-parents talked to their teens about the horrible impact that drugs would have on them and their families, many teens would not use drugs.

I think ads that show how illegal drug use would effect a teen's life would prevent a teenager from using drugs.

While I have been at Karma, my choice to remain drug free was has become stronger. Every week we have a therapeutic group,

called chemical dependency group. In that group we watch videos, discuss how drugs hurt the body, and learn first hand how drug use has effected our families in a bad way. We read and discuss articles about drugs. Also at Karma, every week we hear from recovering addicts from Narcotics Anonymous. Different people come and share their life stories about using illegal drugs.

All these experiences impact me in a strong way. I know I will never use any illegal drugs as long as I live. The knowledge that I have now, has made a positive difference in my life.

Thank you for this opportunity to speak and to make a difference in my country.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you very much.

Kati.

Ms. STEPHENSON. Good afternoon, Members of Congress.

My name is Kati and I am a grateful, recovering addict. I always had huge dreams and goals for myself and it never involved becoming a drug addict. My life soon became a vicious cycle of hospitals, in and out of them, overdosing, jail, totaling cars, losing my friends to drug overdoses. My life was completely out of control. I didn't know how to stop.

On May 29, 1999, I was court-ordered to a women's recovery home, the Lisa Maryland House in Orlando, FL where I stayed 1 year and recently graduated. Here, I learned the skills I needed to live life. This place saved my life. I feel like I literally have a chance to live again and hopefully to help someone else from going down the same road I chose.

This past year, I haven't paid much attention to television but I have gotten a chance to view some of the ads recently. I honestly don't understand why so much money is being spent on this media campaign when it could be spent on a more personal approach with the youth, like groups organized of young people in recovery who could go around speaking to elementary, middle and high schools or it could be used for more treatment centers. It seems to me you could spend all this money on advertising but if you have no place to place them, then what good is it.

I don't think the drug problem is getting any better. People keep getting addicted and dying from this disease because there was no help for them. It seems if money went to treatment, we would save a lot more lives. I have lost many friends to this disease, a lot who died because they had no place to go. Over the past few days, I have been able to ask around some young people and to get their opinions on some of the ads. Not many even knew of them. If they did, they felt the ads were very impersonal and very vague, very surface.

Before I started using drugs, the commercials were pretty much a joke to every one around me. When I was actively using, I really could have cared less. I truly don't feel the ads are persuasive one way or another. I feel the main emphasis should be placed on personal contact with the youth and toward treatment.

I strongly, strongly feel that it hasn't been the millions of dollars spent on advertising that helped get my attention; it was the love, guidance and hope from those who had been there before me and their personal efforts to let me know what they had to go through. Those are the people who really changed my life.

All I have to offer you is my personal experience. Through that, I hope to help save someone else from suffering and going down the same path.

Thank you for listening.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you all for your testimony. I appreciate you being patient and also being willing to share the different levels of what you have been through. Maybe I can start with Kati with a few questions.

When you were first becoming an addict, did you go through any DARE program? Did you go through any kind of program at school that was prevention oriented?

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Ms. STEPHENSON. No, I didn't.

Mr. SOUDER. Your school didn't have any. Had you heard people talk about why drugs were bad?

Ms. STEPHENSON. I can remember a couple of times where they had assemblies with the DARE program and stuff but it was maybe once a year. It wasn't very involved. I know I didn't get very involved in it.

I grew up not wanting to use drugs. I was against it because it had run in my family but when the time came in high school, everyone was doing it and I saw they were having fun doing it, and I just wanted to have fun and be a part of it.

Mr. SOUDER. Treatment isn't a prevention program, treatment is a program that once people are addicts, it is one of the ways we try to help people recover, although even in a successful program like Karma, 35 percent success rate which is actually pretty high, most treatment programs have nearly a 90 percent failure rate. Nevertheless, we put a billion and some dollars into treatment because we have to at least try, and some people will be very successful. Some of the people who are successful may have an occasional relapse but that is still different than being an addict. It is still not a prevention program.

What would you do to try to reach people like you who kind of knew it was bad but you wanted to try to fit in with your peer groups and you didn't see any immediate bad effects, what would you do now that you are 22, say you have some kids down the road, what would you do as a parent, what would you want your school to do?

Ms. STEPHENSON. I think the most effective would be people who have been through it, younger people that have been through it who can reach the kids on an individual level as a peer, not like a motherly figure or a counsel, more someone they can relate to.

Mr. SOUDER. Would you have listened to them at that time? If some kid, 22, came back and said, I was messed up, I thought it was cool to go to parties and fit in, you would have been more likely to listen to someone at 22 than somebody at 50? Part of what we are trying to figure out is what really would you listen to, not what we think somebody would listen to because we are spending real dollars here. Kids are really dying in my hometown and around the country. In Orlando, many kids died of heroin overdose. You were one who was fortunate who didn't.

It is very hard because young people always think they are going to live and it is not going to be them.

Ms. STEPHENSON. I totally agree with that. I know at that age, I felt invincible but I don't really remember ever seeing what really happens to someone who is really overdosing. At that age, I don't remember seeing that. That is the only thing I can think of, maybe more graphically being shown.

Mr. SOUDER. If they had drug tested you at school, what do you think that would have done?

Ms. STEPHENSON. I know it would have made me think the drug problem was being taken a lot more seriously than I think kids think now.

Mr. SOUDER. A number of schools I have been, about the only kids who favor drug testing were kids who had a drug problem be-

cause they said they might have been caught. The kids who don't have a drug problem think drug tests are terrible. Those who aren't really wrestling with the problem think they are terrible but it lets some kids who really want to avoid it use it as an excuse. One of the things you addressed that we hear all the time is the social pressure, you want to fit in, you want to have a fun time.

Kevin, both you and Ibn mentioned the egg commercial. What did that mean to you? Clearly you had some idea that it wasn't good for you, that it would mess up your head but you got involved anyway. Did you think it was not going to mess up your head?

Mr. EVANS. I didn't go as far as heroin and really hard drugs. I was using gateway drugs. If I had continued to use drugs, I probably would have been as far as heroin and stuff like that. I never used that, and I saw a lot of people use those types of drugs and what it did to them but it was just the point of rebellious as older people trying to tell me you can't use drugs, drugs will do this and this to you. All of the younger people were like, drugs are fine. I was going back and forth with two different generations. One generation was telling me one thing, and the other generation was telling me another. I thought the younger generation knew more than the older generation so in a way, it made me go to the younger generation and use drugs even though I knew some of the stuff the older generation was telling me.

Mr. SOUDER. My dad once gave my school band instructor a plaque that he thought was hilarious and the band instructor thought was hilarious but all of us in the band thought it was really stupid. It said, "Why can't all of life's problems come when we are young and know all the answers." It is not that you know more when you are a kid, it is that you don't realize what you don't know. As you get older, it gets more frustrating rather than less.

You said the reason you got involved in drugs was to provide books, clothes and other things for you and your family. You have now been through a program that has told you about the evils of drugs. At the same time, that still doesn't address necessarily the question of how you had the problem in the first place. In other words, your's seemed to be economic. Was it that you didn't feel that the risk was as high as what your gain was and was this to get better gym shoes and nicer clothes? Is that what your orientation was? What would you do differently now? How would you tackle the same problem? If you were back then, 12 years old, just starting into it, what would you do differently?

You had a paper route and you were trying to earn money?

Mr. EVANS. Yes, I was. Back then, I didn't really like depending on people, I didn't like asking people for things because I thought it would bring me down, so I did the next thing, even though it was wrong, selling drugs. After a while of being with the drugs, bagging drugs, you were like, well, since I am doing this, let me see what it feels like because the people I am giving it to say it is good, so I am going to try it just once.

If I was there now, I would not even deal with drugs, even if I seen the good effects—so-called good effects of what drugs did to you, I would still not use it because I knew stuff now and I have dealt with the problems I was dealing with back then.

I would pretty much depend on other people because I am not old enough—now I am old enough to get jobs so I can get a job but back then I wasn't old enough to get a job and I would pretty much depend on people. I would be the child and not the parent.

Mr. SOUDER. My youngest son is 12 and then I have a son who is 22 and a daughter who is 24. The toughest period is when you are 12 to 14 and that is when you are going through a lot of changes, you are very impressionable, and it is a very hard age for any adults to try to reach young people.

You said to some degree you felt if you knew how bad things were going to be, but at that age, isn't it kind of hard to look at it and feel that? You probably had people in your community that you saw, guys whose lives didn't amount to much, yet it didn't stop you?

Mr. EVANS. No, it didn't stop me. I just wanted to do my own thing. I just wanted to do whatever I wanted to do, even though I seen all the bad effects of what drugs did to them, their families, social life, their whole life. I would ruin their whole life from having money, having a nice house to not having anything, losing their family members and out on the street with nothing. I just pretty much wanted to do my own thing.

Mr. SOUDER. Ibn said that his grandfather had a big impact on him. Did you have any male family members that were an example to you anywhere along the line, an uncle, a grandfather? One of the problems is finding models to model. Did you have any in your community? Is that something that would have made a difference?

Mr. EVANS. I have two uncles. One uncle is in the military, so I really didn't see him a lot. As I was growing up, I wanted to be like him, I wanted to go into the military, I wanted to be just like him but after a while, I was I never see him, I don't know what he does so he didn't really become a big factor in my life.

My other uncle helped me a lot, he was a good role model for me but he had other kids so he was putting more of his time on his kids. I just veered off to my older cousins and my older cousins were doing the same thing that I was doing after a while. So I had a role model, an older man, and he died when I turned 11, so that role model was gone and there weren't any other role models, so the role models I took were the people outside having fun, doing drugs and selling drugs.

Mr. SOUDER. Ibn, you said your grandfather had a big role and that you were convinced not to use drugs. You went into this program when you were 15?

Mr. MOHAMMED. I came into the program when I was 16.

Mr. SOUDER. You said this solidified your commitment. Do you think you would have drifted into drugs if you hadn't gone into this program?

Mr. MOHAMMED. Yes.

Mr. SOUDER. Were you hanging around with people that were already kind of troubled and did some of them do drugs?

Mr. MOHAMMED. Yes. I was hanging around people that did drugs but I thought about it and I was thinking about what my grandfather told me too, so that is why I didn't do drugs. My grandfather gave me the advice, don't do drugs, and he told me the

effects if I did drugs. So I took the initiative then, don't do no drugs.

Mr. SOUDER. Ms. Jones, I wanted to ask you about your 35 percent success rate. What precisely does that mean, kids who after they graduate, haven't gotten in trouble with the law?

Ms. JONES. Basically what that means is we have tracked for a year graduates; because it is real hard to stay in touch with families after a year period. We measured that. So what it means is that those young people have not become involved in the juvenile justice system. They have reported and their families have supported their report that they did not get involved with drugs again.

Mr. SOUDER. The other two-thirds, have they ranged in extent of problems and are they drug problems, other problems?

Ms. JONES. What we found is that the offenders who came because of drug using, half went back to using or selling and the other half didn't use drugs or sell drugs but had car thefts or truancy.

Mr. SOUDER. In other words, they might not have wanted to get their clothes through drug sales but they got them through something else?

Ms. JONES. Right. What we have been able to ascertain is that the message we are putting out, the message we are giving them about the ill effects of using and selling drugs has made an impact. We have also been able to see the impact of how our drug message has helped other siblings in the family, as well as the parents. Because sometimes we have parents who come to Karma and they have substance abuse issues, maybe not as serious, they are minimizing it but we have to address that issue also which we haven't factored in the data. But we have their report that they have stopped using because we will not return a youth to his home where the parents are still practicing using drugs or alcohol. So we have been able to affect change on that level also.

When parents take a stand because a child will tell the parent, look at you, you are using. You bought me the drugs, you helped me and the parent has to face that reality and that has happened in several cases in the home where the parent is outraged that their son is using and selling but not totally looking at the fact they were the door for their son. That has really opened the eyes of the parents.

We have had parents go into treatment while they were first in treatment with their son, then they had to come clean with us and say, I have to go into treatment, so I will be missing for several months because I have the same issue my son has and if it wasn't for you, I really wouldn't have addressed my issue too.

Mr. SOUDER. Do you know what percentage of your success rates parents went into treatment?

Ms. JONES. We didn't have lots but all the ones that reported, it is 100 percent, so I would say I have been there 13 years and I have had about 10 cases like that over the course of the 13 years.

Mr. SOUDER. Is yours a religious program?

Ms. JONES. No, it is not. As part of the Department of Juvenile Justice, the Comar regulations, it is required of us as a program to make church available to them. So we have a sign-up sheet if

they want to go to church and we have to take them to a church. That is part of the State mandate.

Mr. SOUDER. Have you seen that kids who make a personal commitment are more likely to stay successful?

Ms. JONES. Yes. I have seen that. Because of the Narcotics Anonymous program and the AA which emphasizes the spiritual, higher power, that also allows the young people to feel God can help them. A lot of the young people have that in their background. When they were young, "my grandmother took me to church" or "I used to go to church" and they remember that and it triggers those memories. In church, that gives them the strength, so I have seen that as an effective tool. A lot of the boys' evenings start beginning a relationship with God as a result of going to church with their buddy because it is a way to get out of the house, it is better than nothing. So they will sign up and go to church. It has a positive effect too. I have seen that through the course of my time being there that some of the boys have made decisions to change their lives and have a cleaner, more moral life because of going to church and having that available.

Mr. SOUDER. How do you address the question that the environment you are providing is a relatively artificial environment and where they may be thrown back into is such a total contrast that it makes the transition difficult? In other words, you are providing order; as soon as they leave, they may not have order. You talked about going on your wilderness trips. You have been able to see that world and now you have extra responsibility to try to reach other people. At the same time, it is going to be difficult all of a sudden going back to an environment that may be tough.

Ms. JONES. One of the major components of our program is the final phase, a transition phase, called phase II. During that phase, you have to go back because that is the reality of life. You have to reestablish yourself. What I have seen is that when the youth go back as Kevin, he is a different person. He is not the same person mentally that he was when he came to Karma. He has a new attitude, he has a new way of looking at things and he realizes that they are going no where and guess what, I am going somewhere.

I have had former residents go back to their community and run groups and help their peers because of the skills, the tools they have picked up. So when a youth decides inside, and that is really where we need to emphasize helping young people to realize their strength within themselves, when they realize that, it doesn't matter what environment they are in because they have the strength within themselves like we do. We might have friends all around us doing something inappropriate, but we choose not to because of who we are inside ourselves.

That is what happens for the boys and some of the parents have moved. They are able to move, they make plans because they realize this environment is horrible. I want him to have a new school, a new set of friends, a new opportunity, so they are able to move to another community where some parents aren't. That is why we really emphasize if you are not changing within, you are going to be right back.

The program is very hard and tough. It is not easy and it is long. It is not a quick fix and I think that is one of the things we as a

country need to look at, the 30 days, the 90 days, it is not going to work because the issues are so deep, they come from a place where the kids aren't able to really let it out. Anybody can do 90 days, anybody can do 30 days but to really have to stay and deal with issues day in and day out is going to be hard and that is when the change comes.

Mr. SOUDER. To give the cliche, there is a current song that has been out there at least in the last month that love is the only answer. Ultimately, it probably is.

What we are going to try to do in Government and the hearing today is focused on particularly the advertising but we have had hearings over the last year, at least 35 or 40 hearings all over the country. I have been down to Orlando once, we have had two hearings in Florida, we have been literally all over the country, as well as Chairman Mica and I have been down to South America five times in the last 5 years.

On the Education Committee, we are looking at education programs, we are looking at treatment programs, we are looking at alternative programs, we are looking at school counseling programs where kids do the peer counseling with each other. I am a big booster of entrepreneurial education. One thing that is really clear is almost every person that has dealt drugs actually is a mini-businessman. If we can figure out how to get you guys into the regular business, every one of you can earn money and be a hustler but in a positive way not just in a street way.

I haven't seen kids in any district, whether rural or urban, who at 8 and 10 years old who don't have big dreams. Somewhere those dreams are getting lost and we need to tap into that.

The question we are asking today is—and you saw the ads earlier that were aired—what can we do to reshape the image or is there anything in those ads that would really reach you before you got involved in the problem. Advertising is pretty much wasted once you are in the middle of the problem because once you are in the problem, you need shock therapy almost. The court gets you and then you get into it or a drug test catches you and you are forced to deal with your problem.

When you are right at the early edges, mixing a little alcohol and marijuana, maybe a little something else starting with tobacco, it could be a gateway type drug, what at that point or before you reach that point, what ad would be able to reach you or would anything? Could you comment, each of you on the ads we saw earlier today which are only part of the ads?

Ms. JONES. I think what stood out for me the most about those ads, both of them, they were in black and white. We live in a color generation. My children refuse to look at anything that is in black and white, they say that is the olden days. They won't look at it, and I have 14, 11 and 8.

To give you all the feedback, that has to change because children, today's youth, just turn it off, automatically they don't look at black and white. They know color. If you put those ads in color, those pictures are going to be vivid. The brain is going to take a picture and they will see Rodney on heroin, see the blood, see that and they will remember that because that is today's youth.

I believe the media probably put it in black and white so that it probably wouldn't be so graphic but we live in a graphic society. Our youth and children are looking at everything the way it really is. That is my first comment on that.

The other comment is with Rodney on Heroin. The message is good but the word that we hear is heroin. I don't know if that is just for a certain market or all across the country but when we talk about teenagers, we are talking about youth who are going to start with alcohol and marijuana. If we want to get their attention, we need to put together an ad that is going to give them that message—alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, crack, heroin, LSD. They need to see if you start here, you are going to end up here and then the casket.

So the message is good for Rodney, but it is not going to stay with a kid who is at a party and someone brings out a joint because they will say, Rodney, heroin, I am all right. I am not like Rodney because that is the way these boys think. They are concrete. So the ads have to be on the level that the youth are on.

The ad with the young ladies did not hold my attention. It was too fast. I really didn't know they were talking about drugs because the message is opportunity. No young person is looking for opportunity. If we are going to give them a message to stay off drugs, we need to give them a message that drugs destroy. That is why I emphasize that. They need to have one message. If I use drugs, I am destroying myself. If you ask any kid in America, do you want to destroy yourself? No. If you use drugs, you will. That is going to stick with them and to present that in a colorful way is going to stick with a kid of any age.

That is my feedback. I think opportunity is an adult word, an adult concept, it is not for today's youth.

Mr. SOUDER. Kevin, in looking at the Rodney ad, presumably the first ad probably didn't move you a whole lot, in the Rodney ad, how would you make that so that it would have related to what you saw in your neighborhood that would have impacted you? How would you draw the parallel because you are looking at it and going I don't want to be like him.

Mr. EVANS. I would have added more drugs to that like all the drugs and I would show the true effects of what the drugs do to you. Youth these days, if you see someone in the casket, well, he is dead, I saw someone dead on the street the other day so we want to see what it really does to you, how it deteriorates your body and stuff like that. That would have a real impact because nowadays video games, a lot of blood, a lot of body parts, stuff like that. Younger kids are so involved with video games and seeing a lot of blood and body parts and other stuff that if you showed the true effects like what it does to your liver and what it does to your lungs, your mouth and how it eats at your body, would have an impact. People would remember that.

I remember I saw a video at Karma of heroin and how needles and all that other stuff. I really don't like needles. Not too many young kids like needles either, so I remembered that and I remembered one of the men on there was using heroin. He first started using heroin and then a year later, he had AIDS, he went from 150 pounds to maybe 90 pounds. You could see all his bones. I remem-

ber that and the needles in the body, how they showed him and all the stuff he went through. I remember that and it stayed in my mind. That was a good video. I would think more graphics and just straight, to the point and not veer off with opportunities and stuff like that. Stick straight to what drugs will do to you and how it will mess you up.

Mr. SOUDER. Ibn, what would you do if you were the ad manager and your job was to reach kids 15 years old?

Mr. MOHAMMED. I would try to get videos to the house where they live and try to convince the parents to tell them to sit down and watch the video and watch the effects of drugs and how they will end up if they keep on doing drugs and stuff like that.

Mr. SOUDER. Do you think they would be more convinced if they had a bunch of other kids who were 18 or so who said, I tried some pot, I didn't think anything was going to happen to me and here is what happened because the problem is nobody thinks they are going to start with heroin. You don't think that would necessarily convince them either?

Mr. MOHAMMED. I would try to convince them to stop using that, probably show more, as Kevin said, more graphics and stuff like that or any other use of drugs. I would try to get a counselor or some other person who did drugs and got off of drugs, send them to a local rec center or something like that. They probably would come down there and talk to them about the effect of drugs, how he got on drugs and then made a big turnaround and got off it, and became a clean, healthy strong man.

Mr. SOUDER. Kati, you get the last word. You said earlier that you didn't think the ads were very effective and didn't know if any ad could be effective. I am interested in your comments particularly on the first ad because the theme of that seemed to be trying to say women have had lots of opportunities and all of a sudden young girls have opportunities that young girls didn't have when I was growing up, even before me, so don't blow it. That didn't have any impact on you?

Ms. STEPHENSON. It was a nice commercial but it was kind of like common. There are a lot of commercials out there like the Hallmark kind of thing. I think if you are going the commercial way, it would have to be something more drastic like they said, like with the color.

I was thinking before I began using I thought of a drug user as a heroin junkie. I would never get to that point, so it was OK to do the other things. I think on commercials, it was always showing the bottom of the bottom, it never really showed the whole process. I was in school and I was a cheerleader and I was in student government and I didn't think I would end up using heroin, but it did happen to me. Maybe if you could make the commercials relate more to in my area who are in school and are getting addicted just as well as any others.

Mr. SOUDER. It is interesting because you are all challenging a fundamental assumption and that is we don't like to motivate you by positives, we would like to tell you about hopes, dreams, say don't rather than just point the finger all the time. Most of you are saying, scare us to death. It is an interesting panel.

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Ms. JONES. I understand what you are saying because I get feedback from the parents. They say, you are too hard, Renee, you are scaring them, you don't understand. The boys come to my defense and say, she has to say that to us because they realize that if I went the route of the parents, I would be just like them. That is I guess the message the kids are getting, the soft pat on the back messages from a lot of different sources, but if we really want to make an impact on them as a country through this media campaign, as they are saying, we really need to let them know the real truth.

As you said, the mind is thinking I am invincible. It is really not going to happen to me. The truth is, it is going to happen to you if you put this in your life. We just went to Blake High School in Silver Spring to do a presentation. We spoke to over 150 10th graders, did a drug prevention program. All of the boys participated and shared their stories. What was outstanding for me was the feedback, because we did evaluations, which was the kids liked hearing from them rather than hearing from me. I did the academic part, this is what will happen, see the drug, I had the charts and all that.

What stood out for the kids was hearing from other boys and they asked questions. What happened then, students asked are you glad you are in the program, would you rather be home? They said, yes, I would rather be home, I wish I didn't do drugs, I wish I had made better choices and I saw some eyes click because the kids did say yes, I use, I use, they weren't ashamed but it did help them to hear from other peers that using drugs destroyed my life.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you very much for coming today. I want to encourage each of you and all of the young guys who have been in the program who have been very attentive here today because all of us make mistakes but now you have another chance. You have a great chance to have an impact not only on your own life but others lives because you have seen what it is like on both sides. Many of us didn't get that opportunity and don't appreciate it. Now you have a little extra responsibility in this country to try to reach others in addition to having the great opportunity of a lot of years left in your own lives.

With that, our hearing now stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 2:20 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

[Additional information submitted for the hearing record follows:]

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STATEMENT CONGRESSMAN ELIJAH E. CUMMINGS
"Oversight of ONDCP Youth Anti-drug Media Campaign"
July 11, 2000

Mr. Chairman:

I'd first like to thank General McCaffrey for his strong leadership and cooperation with Congress in fighting the war against drugs. In particular, he has worked with me on several occasions, and has even come to my District to learn about my constituent's concerns and to hear from the youth in Baltimore. I greatly appreciate all that he has done and I hope our collaborations have helped him in his work as much as they have helped me in mine.

ONDCP is doing a good job, particularly in the face of such daunting statistics. The program we are discussing today the Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign is an important public private partnership that brings together the federal government, schools, community groups, and the entertainment industry. This collective has created an advertising message that reaches 90% of America's youth at least four times a week.

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I recently learned that the media campaign represents one of the largest ethnic efforts implemented to date by the US government in the strategic use of African American, Hispanic, and Asian-owned media vehicles to enhance its message credibility and impact. This commitment is especially important to the African-American community and my District. I thank them for these efforts.

Although ONDCP has been criticized recently in the press for the use of "cookies" in tracking site usage, I must commend their efforts in attempting to collect data to determine the usefulness of their online media. My understanding is that ONDCP has not used the software to track personal data about the users; the cookies anonymously tracked users on their web site and followed them anonymously as they traveled through its pages. I look forward to hearing from the General on this issue and how it is assisting the organization in crafting a message for the "internet generation."

Mr. Chairman, as I've said many times before, one of the greatest obstacles to the realization of a young person's dreams is drug use. We have a responsibility as a nation to reduce drug use among all youth. I believe the media campaign is truly making strides towards that goal.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR July 3, 2000

Uncle Sam's 'cookie' is watching you

By Eric E. Sterling

WASHINGTON

THE Scripps Howard News Service revealed last month that the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) was planting Internet surveillance codes, called "cookies," in the computers of people who visited their drug-education Web sites. People searching the Internet for drug-related information are steered to these Web sites by banner ads, paid for with tax dollars, appearing whenever certain keywords are used in searches.

Internet privacy advocates, upon learning of the cookie practice – which the White House quickly clarified as a violation of its own privacy policies – were outraged. But the problems with this practice are much worse.

An Internet cookie is a computer instruction that reports back to the computer system that placed it information about the identity and Internet activities of the computer that has had the cookie implanted. Logging on to a Web site, or even viewing an online ad, can load a cookie onto a computer hard drive. The information tracked can include one's e-mail address, Internet service provider, the unique identifier of a person's computer, the types of computer software used, and the Internet searches a person conducts. Some of this data can be analyzed to indicate where a computer user lives or works.

During the 1980s, I worked for Congress and helped write the 1988 legislation creating the ONDCP. The goal was to improve the coordination of federal anti-drug efforts – and ONDCP overwhelmingly was given a law-enforcement mission. Each year, it directs hundreds of millions of dollars toward intelligence gathering and law enforcement through its law-enforcement task forces that blanket the nation.

For the drug czar's office to place secret surveillance codes into the computers of Americans is dangerous and counter-productive for three reasons:

• Surveillance of this kind by a federal law-enforcement agency is probably unlawful and unconstitutional. Congress hasn't authorized the White House to plant surveillance technology in Americans' computers. Indeed, the Fourth Amendment guarantees we are secure in our "persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches," and that searches are only authorized by judges' warrants for probable cause specifically describing the place to be searched.

It's clear our computer files are "effects," which are protected. Millions of people use the Internet daily to contact their banks, pay bills, monitor investments, and make the most private, sensitive financial transactions. Our use of the Internet is like going to a file cabinet for our private papers. Millions of people keep their personal files and correspondence in computers maintained by Internet service providers like AOL. The files are remote from home or office and are only accessed by the Internet, but potentially tracked by the ONDCP cookie.

ONDCP is actually financing research on how to do more surveillance using the Internet and databases built on Web traffic.

• This practice threatens political speech and debate. Americans are questioning national drug policy. Two governors – Gary Johnson (R) of New Mexico and Jesse Ventura (Reform) of Minnesota – suggest some kind of legalization and regulation of drugs and drug use may be better strategies than our current ineffective prohibition approach. Citizens naturally turn to Internet search engines and go to government Web sites to learn more about these important issues. They use the Internet like their private library, calling up "bookmarked" or favorite Web sites like they take books from a shelf.

When the government conducts clandestine surveillance of people looking for information about drug issues, it's intimidating. It dangerously chills the opportunity for free, open debate, which is fundamental to democracy and the making of sound public policy.

• As a matter of drug policy, this is counter-productive. People who looking for information about "addiction," "cocaine," "marijuana," etc. are often looking for help. Many of the people we most need to educate about drug dangers are drug users, their family members, and friends. When the public worries that by seeking information about drug addiction, private information is captured secretly, we inevitably discourage those who most need this potentially life-saving information.

The ONDCP has promised to terminate the practice. But, it is disturbing evidence that the drug czar and his staff don't have a clear idea of the appropriate limits on their powers. This was also seen earlier this year when ONDCP's clandestine practice of offering "advertising credits" to TV networks and news magazines in exchange for censoring scripts or running favorable stories was revealed. It doesn't seem to appreciate the appropriate relation between the government of a democracy and the people who constitute that democracy.

While the cookie episode is a reminder of the growing loss of privacy in the Information Age, it's also yet another warning of how antidrug-establishment zealotry continues to threaten law-abiding citizens by curtailing their freedoms. Millions of citizens are routinely tested for drugs they never use. Now they're under surveillance for using drug words in Internet searches.

Eric E. Sterling, president of the nonprofit Criminal Justice Policy Foundation, from 1979 to 1989, was counsel to the House Judiciary Committee where he was principally responsible for antidrug legislation.

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Statement of Congressman Towns
ONDCP Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign
July 11, 2000

Chairman Mica, Ranking Member Mink I'm glad that we are having this hearing this morning. The Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) directed by General McCaffrey, has started a new media campaign using some innovative techniques. Their approach to use the internet and popular primetime television are steps that I think are perfectly appropriate to reach the target audience. We all realize the power of these mass media devices, and ONDCP is definetly on target for reaching the "internet" generation with anti-drug messages.

I realize that there have been some negative comments about ONDCP's actions, but I applaud them for taking steps to address a problem. I am not saying that some of the concerns are not without merit-but fighting drug use and abuse is not a cut and dry process. We should make sure that we are offering solutions not just additional complaints about the performance of the office.

It is amazing to me that I am hearing some of the complaints that I am hearing. We ask the Office to decrease drug use and abuse and then when they use technology, the same technology that many industry individuals use, they receive a reprimand for invasion of privacy. My question is, isn't it still an invasion of privacy when industry uses the technology to see who's visiting their websites? It is still more amazing to me that when we know the power of television and its ability to influence in a positive or negative manner, that we would again admonish ONDCP for using one of our most powerful media devices to combat drug use. Why wouldn't we want to use popular show to target the age set.

I think we should give the Office constructive solutions to addressing the problems of drug use and abuse and not criticize their efforts. Thank You.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
Washington, D.C. 20503

FACT SHEET

YOUTH DRUG USE AND THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

August 10, 2000

Youth drug use has leveled-off or actually declined in the past two years following sharp increases since the early 1990s. This trend has been documented by all three of the major Federal data systems used to track youth drug use: The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse (NHSDA), the Monitoring the Future (MTF) study, and the CDC's Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS). The major Federal youth drug prevention initiative over the past two years has been ONDCP's National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, which was launched nationwide in July 1998.

Recently released results from the YRBS have been used by the Senate Treasury/Postal Appropriations Committee to justify cutting funding for the Media Campaign by 46 percent. The Committee cites the YRBS report and notes that:

> ...for 1999, there is a significant increasing trend in both marijuana and cocaine use in America's youths. The Committee is concerned that drug use is clearly increasing in spite of the national media campaign, leading some observers to conclude it has not had a noticeable impact on drug use among America's youth.

The YRBS data, as well as those from the NHSDA and the MTF, clearly indicate that the opposite is true. What the YRBS data actually show is that **BETWEEN 1991 AND 1997**, there was a sharp rise in the use of drugs, including marijuana and cocaine. However, between 1997 and 1999 (the YRBS is only collected every other year) marijuana and cocaine use was unchanged (see attached charts). Similar results are observed with data from the NHSDA and the MTF. For the NHSDA there was a **13 percent decrease** between 1997 and 1998 in any illicit drug use among 12-to-17 year olds. Use of inhalants and methamphetamines among 12-to-17 year olds also declined significantly between 1997 and 1998. Use of all other drugs remained unchanged between 1997 and 1998. Results from the 1999 MTF indicate that use of most drugs among 8th, 10th, and 12th graders has been level since 1996. Exceptions to this trend include a **decrease** in past month use of crack cocaine among 10th graders, and increases in the past month use of ecstasy among 12th graders, and past month use of steroids among 8th and 10th graders.

The Committee also notes that "[w]hen this program was initially funded by the Congress, it was with the understanding that within 3 years there would be demonstrable

behavior changes in America's youth with relation to drug use." However, Congress is taking action to reduce the funding for the Media Campaign after only one year of data are available – data that suggests that the program is actually beginning to have an impact within **one year** of nationwide implementation.

In order to make definitive statements on whether the Media Campaign is responsible for observed changes in youth drug use, we have to await results from the comprehensive scientific evaluation currently being conducted by the National Institute on Drug Abuse. This evaluation is measuring youth and parental drug use behavior and attitudes in conjunction with exposure to the Campaign's messages. The first evaluation report will be released at the end of this summer, with followup reports released every six months over the next four years.

Results from the YRBS, the NHSDA, and the MTF suggest that youth drug use is finally moving in the right direction. The Media Campaign has been implemented at exactly the right moment. We are on the cusp of historic changes in youth drug use. Now is not the time to devastate the very program that has the best chance of capitalizing on these trends by reinforcing and normalizing anti-drug attitudes and behaviors among America's youth.

ONDCP 08/10/00

Response to Questions for the Record
By:

David M. Maklan, Ph.D.
Vice President, Westat, Inc.
Phase III Evaluator

Hearing on "Evaluating the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign"

Before the House Government Reform Committee
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources
July 11, 2000

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Q1. What is the status of the Phase III Evaluation Plan?

The Phase III Evaluation is currently analyzing the information gathered during its first nationally representative wave of recruitment/cross-sectional data collection. These parent and youth data were obtained using Westat's audio-visual computer-assisted self-interviewing (ACASI) system between November 1999 and the end of May 2000. These data constitute the evaluation's "Baseline" in the sense that we will be comparing all subsequent findings to this set of data to measure change and assess the influence of the Media Campaign on observed change. The second wave of recruitment/cross-sectional data collection started in July and will end in December. The first round of follow-up data collection will commence simultaneously with the third recruitment/cross-sectional wave, in January 2001. All data collection will end in June 2003.

A summary of the evaluation methodology being implemented is presented in our previously submitted written testimony. A more full description of the approach is included as Chapter 3 in the Evaluation's forthcoming report entitled *Historical Trends in Drug Use and the Design of the Phase III Evaluation.* The first semi-annual report is scheduled for delivery to NIDA later this summer, at the end of August. Subsequent reports will be issued at approximately six-month intervals.

Dr. David M. Maklan
Westat, Inc.
Media Campaign Phase III Evaluator

Q2. Dr. Maklan testified about the complications encountered in gathering the necessary data for the evaluation of Phase III. Please enumerate these problems and explain their impact on the progress/timeline of the campaign?

The Westat/Annenberg evaluation team believes it important to learn from our own experiences as well as the experiences of previous researchers. Accordingly, we reviewed the methodology and lessons from the Media Campaign's first two Phases (12-site experiment; initial rollout to a national audience). In the same vein, together with NIDA, we subjected our own activities to continuous monitoring and review in order to deliver the best possible evaluation and evaluation reports on schedule and within the available resources. Presented below are the two situations that had the potential to impact the Evaluation's progress or timeline. (Nothing associated with the Evaluation will in any way impact the Media Campaign itself. In short, the Evaluation attempts to adjust to the exigencies of the Campaign.) It is important to note at the outset of this response that NIDA and Westat have been diligent from the start of the evaluation contract to make no modifications that negatively effect the study's primary evaluation and reporting objectives. To the contrary, the net impact of the design modifications made necessary by the complications encountered has been to enhance the ability of the Evaluation to assess the role of the Campaign in bringing about any observed changes in attitudes, intentions, and behaviors. The modifications have also resulted in the expansion of selected semi-annual reports to include analyses of Media Campaign influences in greater depth. The two complications are:

- **Addition of a design period to the Phase III Evaluation:** The Westat/Annenberg approach required the elaboration of several models of possible paths of Campaign influence and the selection of the final set of variables most appropriate for both the models and the actual Campaign as envisioned by ONDCP's Behavioral Change Evaluation Panel (BCEP) and the Media-Buy contractor (Ogilvy). In addition, the Media-Buy contract started several months after the Westat contract and Ogilvy needed some time to round out its approach to the Campaign. Only then could the Evaluation Team finalize its measures based on the emerging media strategies, submit and obtain authorization from OMB to proceed, and conduct a Pilot Test. As a result, the start of the Phase III Evaluation's main data collection activities had to be delayed approximately six months beyond the estimated date in the Statement of Work (SOW). [The SOW was written about a year before the details of the Phase III Campaign and the complexities of the evaluation model were specified.] This time was well spent. Among other activities, the Team specified a wide variety of models and measures, developed and tested the eight requisite survey instruments (each in English and Spanish), and explored a number of cutting-edge analysis techniques that we believe are most appropriate to the types of data being collected and the types of analyses that we plan to execute. The Evaluation Team also met several times with the BCEP to better understand its science-based conceptualizations for the Campaign, and with the Media-Buy contractors as they elaborated their plans for each of the various media channels. We also met with the Evaluation's Expert Panel to discuss and refine our evaluation approach.

- **Interviewer recruitment and retention:** During the Autumn of 1999, Westat was able to recruit its interviewers for the initial wave of data collection at the pay rate we originally proposed. However, the combination of a very tight interviewer labor supply and competition with other very large-scale Federal surveys made this a difficult undertaking. Subsequent to the start of Wave 1, additional labor rate pressures from the Bureau of the Census' hiring efforts as well as from other sources made it clear by

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Dr. David M. Maldan
Westat, Inc.
Media Campaign Phase III Evaluator

early 2000 that we would not retain our field staff or recruit quality replacement staff at the then current rates. Accordingly, we increased our average hourly rate 18% between October 1999 and March 2000: 2% attributable to normal year-to-year increases and 16% attributable to the tight labor supply for quality interviewers across the country.

Once data collection was underway, we closely monitored ongoing field experiences. Based on this assessment, Westat determined that there was a variation to our sample design that was both more cost efficient and had the potential to sharpen the survey's ability to measure year-to-year change as well as improve the Evaluation's analytic ability to determine the Media Campaign's influence in changing drug use attitudes, intentions and behaviors. After several weeks of review and consideration, NIDA and Westat decided to implement the revised sample design for Wave 2. Under the revised design, data collection will continue through June 2003. These modifications enabled the Westat/Annenberg Team to strengthen the overall evaluation, maintain the study's report schedule and objectives, and remain within the contracted budget.

Dr. David M. Maklan
Westat, Inc.
Media Campaign Phase III Evaluator

Q3. In the evaluation of Phase III, how will Westat be able to gauge the true "impact" of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign on each of the following:

- **increasing awareness?**
- **changing attitudes?**
- **changing behavior?**

To determine the impact of ONDCP's National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign on target audience awareness, and youth attitudes, beliefs, intentions, and behavior the Westat/Annenberg Evaluation team will focus on answering three general sets of questions:

- Is the Campaign reaching its audiences?
- Is there desirable change in the outcomes addressed by the Campaign, in drug use behavior, and in the beliefs and attitudes that underpin that use?
- How much of the observed changes in outcomes can we attribute to the Campaign?

Dr. Hornik's response to this question describes the Evaluation Team's approach to these questions in greater detail. I will attempt to summarize our plans below.

Measuring Campaign Exposure

The Campaign will publish information about how much media time it has purchased targeted at parent and youth audiences as well as how many times in a given week each ad has been seen (i.e., GRPs). Our task is to measure the extent to which our target audiences are aware of the Campaign and its awareness changing over time? That is, can audiences recall the ONDCP sponsored ads and other messages that were shown?

- First, we ask general questions about advertising recall for each media channel that is similar to questions asked on other surveys. These measures may be reasonably interpreted as providing a general sense of level of exposure, rather than a precise measure of recent exposure.
- Second, we carefully measure audience recall of specific ads. Reflecting the direction of the Campaign thus far, we focus on radio and television advertising. We ask each respondent to tell us whether they have ever seen the ad, how often they seen the ad recently, and how they had evaluated the ad. We also ask each respondent whether he or she has seen a "ringer" ad that had never been broadcast in order to benchmark true exposure.
- Third, we recognize that the Campaign also seeks to enhance anti-drug communication more generally. Therefore, we also assess the impact on target audiences of ONDCP's efforts to change more general aspects of the public communication environment through its collaboration with national and local organizations; corporate partners; and the mass media more generally. For example, we ask about exposure to anti-drug stories in a variety of media channels, and about the amount of talk within families and among friends about drug issues. These measures we will help us determine whether

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Dr. David M. Maklan
Westat, Inc.
Media Campaign Phase III Evaluator

campaign efforts are translating into changes in the perceived public communication environment about drugs.

Measuring change

To determine whether attitudes and behaviors are moving in the right direction the Evaluation Team developed models based on existing theories of health behavior change and of communication effects. These suggest how the Campaign might work and were used to guide the selection of behavioral, attitudinal, belief, social pressure and context, and other measures for inclusion into the survey instruments. The models are presented in our written testimony of July 11th described in greater detail in our report, *Historical Trends in Drug Use and the Design of the Phase III Evaluation*.

Attributing change to the Campaign

The third question requires us to assess as best we can whether causation can be attributed to the Campaign for any observed changes in attitudes, intentions, and behaviors, both overall, and for particular sub-populations of interest. To this end, we will report about the association of exposure and outcomes using a sophisticated statistical technique called "propensity scoring" to reduce the risk that observed differences are the result of the influence of confounding variables rather than the result of the effects of exposure on outcomes. These analyses will first appear in our second semi-annual report scheduled for delivery to NIDA in March 2001.

We also search for cross-sectional evidence concerning the role of a variety of demographic, personality, and environmental/social network related characteristics of the youth or his/her parents on observed changes in attitudes and behaviors. Then, starting with Wave 4, we will supplement these cross-sectional causal analyses with longitudinal causal analyses. The design of our NSPY survey enables us to track and reinterview its nationally representative sample of youth and their parents two or three times each after their baseline interviews. This will enable the Westat/Annenberg evaluation team to follow changes to each respondent's set of substance use related beliefs and behaviors over time. Analysis of this information will indicate whether young persons who reported high versus low Media Campaign exposure display different rates of change in drug-related beliefs and practices in subsequent Waves. This longitudinal analysis strengthens our ability to account for the influence of confounding variables on observed associations between exposure and observed change. This longitudinal analysis will first appear in our fourth semi-annual report scheduled for delivery to NIDA in March 2002.

Dr. David M. Maklan
Westat, Inc.
Media Campaign Phase III Evaluation

Q4. Given a measurable change in drug use in America, how will the evaluators be able to eliminate the dozens of possible variables in order to attribute the likely cause of the drug use trend to the Campaign?

As noted in my response to Q6 below, any change in drug prevalence rates among youth is likely to be a function of multiple causes besides the campaign. Therefore, it is incumbent on the Evaluation Team to analyze different paths, both direct and indirect, through which the Campaign might influence individual attitudes and behaviors over time. As the Subcommittee's question correctly implies, this requires the inclusion of many variables in the study. Our selection of variables was guided by the several models we developed that describe a variety of possible sources and paths of Campaign influence. Described in detail in our forthcoming report entitled *Historical Trends in Drug Use and the Design of the Phase III Evaluation*, and summarized in Dr. Hornik and my written testimony of July 11th, these models are based on existing theories of adolescent drug use, health behavior change, adolescent development, and communication effects.

Our basic approach will be to look for evidence that higher exposure to the Media Campaign is associated with desirable outcomes. This will be done in several ways. First, sophisticated statistical models, including propensity scoring, will be used to assess Campaign influence while accounting for the influence of other potential confounding variables. Second, to increase our confidence that observed change can be attributed to the Campaign, we will use longitudinal data from individual respondents to examine whether prior exposure to Campaign messages predicts changes in drug use related attitudes and behavior, while controlling for prior levels of that belief or behavior. If exposure levels vary sufficiently, a similar analysis will also be done at the community level to determine whether there may be any community level influences on observed differences in outcomes across communities.

The fourth analytic approach we will use to measure the extent of causation attributable to the Campaign takes advantage of the several models we developed each of which describes a number of direct and indirect paths Campaign influence could follow to affect attitudinal and behavioral outcomes. Simply stated, we will assess whether the proposed models of effect can explain the observed changes in the outcomes measured. To the extent that predicted associations between exposure and outcomes can be verified and explained by the proposed models, we will have a reasonable basis for attributing causation to the Campaign.

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Media Campaign Phase III Evaluator

Q5. Once the data is gathered, how long will it take to analyze the data and establish a baseline?

The Evaluation team's first semi-annual report is scheduled for delivery to NIDA later this summer. This report will present many of the findings from the study's initial wave of data collection that concluded at the end of May 2000.

Wave 1 data will serve as the Evaluation's baseline for the attitude measures unique to NSPY. However, measurement of change in behavior will rely primarily on the Monitoring the Future (MTF) survey sponsored by NIDA and the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse sponsored by SAMHSA, as discussed in my response to the Subcommittee's Question 6. For the longitudinal component of evaluation's analysis plan, baseline data collection will extend through June 2001 (survey Waves 1-3). This large sample of youth and their parents will be re-interviewed on an annual basis through June 2003.

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Q6. We are familiar with other government-funded organizations which track illegal drug use in America, such as the Monitoring the Future Survey at the University of Michigan, the National Household Survey, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, etc. Will the findings of each of these surveys be incorporated into the Phase III evaluation?

Three ongoing national surveys are important to the Westat/Annenberg Team's overall assessment of the Media Campaign's influence on drug use attitudes, intention, and behaviors by youth and their parents. They are:

1. National Household Survey on Drug Abuse (NHSDA), sponsored by SAMHSA;
2. Monitoring the Future (MTF), sponsored by NIDA; and
3. Partnership Attitude Tracking Survey (PATS), a privately-funded survey run by the Partnership for a Drug Free America (PDFA).

We assume that the CDC data system referred to in the question is the Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS). There are currently no plans to integrate this system into the Evaluation. These data are not collected annually and have a number of other drawbacks that combined make the YRBS a less fruitful data source for the Media Campaign evaluation than the first three data systems.

The three data collection systems – NHSDA, MTF, and PATS - are important for several reasons most notably because they each survey a very large number of youth annually and have done so continuously for many years. Their large samples will permit us to compute certain point estimates of drug use and a few attitude measures through 2003 with greater precision than is possible with our own smaller sample. The three systems' longevity will enable us to examine long-term trends.

While extremely valuable to this evaluation, these surveys are insufficient to determine the influence of the Media Campaign. These Surveys measure change in drug prevalence rates among youth, which are likely to be a function of multiple causes besides the campaign. These include other Federal Government activities such as interdiction and crop eradication efforts; local government activities such as changes in local enforcement and judicial practices; changes in the number and effectiveness of school-based drug education programs; changes in the price of drugs; as well as a myriad of other forces. Some researchers have also argued that there are epidemics in substance abuse that follow their own natural patterns of ebb and flow. But simply tracking usage rates is insufficient to identify the forces behind change. In order to be able to make reasonable claims that the Media Campaign was responsible for change, the Evaluation had to be designed to go well beyond analysis of trends from existing data.

The possibility of multiple causes for any change in drug abuse rates led to the development of the Evaluation's new national survey. Named the National Survey of Parents and Youth, or NSPY, this survey emphasizes measurement of drug attitudes, exposure to the Media Campaign, peer and family and other risk factors, in addition to drug abuse. The MTF and NHSDA survey systems have few, if any, measures which are specifically directed towards measuring Campaign exposure, and have a smaller set of attitude and belief measures relevant to Campaign effects. The PATS survey system is privately-funded and carried out. It approaches sampling and measurement in ways that are suited to its immediate purpose of guiding the work of the Partnership for a Drug Free America, but are less appropriate for the collection of evidence required in evaluating the Congressionally supported Media Campaign. The NSPY survey,

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however, is not meant as a replacement for these existing survey systems. To the contrary, the three existing systems will provide the primary measurements of change in drug use rates. While NSPY will also track change in behavior from 2000 through 2003, its principal purpose is to monitor the success of the Media Campaign in first reaching its target audiences and then convincing viewers to adopt desired attitudes, intentions, and behaviors.

NSPY offers the Evaluation of ONDCP's Media Campaign a number of important additional advantages over the three existing systems:

- An integrated household approach where each sampled youth will be paired with a parent allowing for direct examination of aspects of parent/child relations and the collection of family history and other background data;
- Follow a nationally representative, integrated household sample of youth and their parents over a three to four year period which will greatly strengthen the Evaluation's ability to measure Campaign influence over time and along a variety of causal pathways;
- Inclusion of younger children. The Campaign targets youth as young as age 9. The NHSDA commences interviewing at age 12 and MTF with youth in grade 8. PATS collects information for children starting with grade 4;
- Higher overall youth response rates (considering refusal by many schools to participate and the difficulties of obtaining parental consent for school-based surveys);
- Higher overall parent response rates (considering the high telephone screener nonresponse rate for parents in telephone surveys);
- The ability to conduct longer interviews (especially compared to school-based surveys);
- The ability to use computers with visual and audio displays (ACASI) to better assure respondent privacy, enable respondents with literacy difficulties to fully participate in equal privacy, and allow media ads to be shown (NHSDA is also using ACASI);
- The ability to have year-round data collection;
- Coverage of high-school dropouts and absentees (compared to school-based surveys); and
- The ability to correlate changes in parental attitudes and behavior with changes in youth attitudes and behavior.

NSPY was also designed to minimize the chance of falsely concluding there is no benefit in the event that the Media Campaign does indeed produce some benefit. Among the ways NSPY reduces the chance of a false conclusion of "no effect" compared to an analysis restricted to existing data systems are:

- Better measure of exposure to anti-drug media messages;

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- Richer measures of beliefs and attitudes sensitive to the specific messages of the Media Campaign;
- Better quality of measures of marijuana and inhalant use;
- Recognition that the Media Campaign may work through different paths;
- Greater opportunity to understand the paths of effects;
- Opportunity to apply more powerful analytic techniques to sort out causal influences,
- Opportunity to confirm theories of adolescent development; and
- Measurement of local variation in pre-existing conditions and of participation in school and extra-curricular drug-education programs.

For a more detailed discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of NHSDA, MTF, and PATS, and of their planned role in the Westat/Annenberg Team's overall evaluation of ONDCP's Media Campaign, please read our forthcoming special analytic report entitled *Historical Trends in Drug Use and the Design of the Phase III Evaluation.*

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Response to Questions for the Record
By:

Robert Hornik, Ph.D.
Professor, Annenberg School for Communication
University of Pennsylvania
Phase III Evaluator

Hearing on "Evaluating the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign"

Before the House Government Reform Committee
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources
July 11, 2000

Response to Questions for the Record
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July 11, 2000

Q1. What is the status of the Phase III Evaluation Plan?

Data collection for Wave 1 of the National Survey of Parents and Youth (NSPY) finished at the end of May and Wave 2 data collection started in July. We are presently analyzing the Wave 1 data and will deliver the Evaluation's first semi-annual report to NIDA at the end of August 2000.

Dr. Maklan and I summarized the Evaluation's methodology in our written testimony. Our forthcoming report entitled *Historical Trends in Drug Use and the Design of the Phase III Evaluation* contains a considerably more detailed description.

Q2. Dr. Maklan testified about the complications encountered in gathering the necessary data for the evaluation of Phase III. Please enumerate these problems and explain their impact on the progress/timeline of the campaign?

Dr. Maklan is most familiar with any complications the Evaluation has experienced. The two major events encountered were the requirement for additional time (approximately six months) at the start of the study for elaboration of the Evaluation protocol and development of its questionnaires, and responding to issues resulting from interviewer recruitment and retention difficulties caused by rapidly rising field labor rates nationwide. These and other far more minor complications were discussed with NIDA and solutions implemented that maintained, and in several instances enhanced, the Evaluation's overall integrity.

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Q3. In the evaluation of Phase III, how will Westat be able to gauge the true "impact" of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign on each of the following:

- **increasing awareness?**
- **changing attitudes?**
- **changing behavior?**

In order to gauge the impact of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign on (1) awareness, (2) attitudes, and (3) behavior, the Westat/Annenberg Evaluation team has to answer three types of questions:

- Is the Campaign reaching its audiences?
- Is there desirable change in the outcomes addressed by the Campaign, in drug use behavior, and in the beliefs and attitudes that underpin that use?
- How much of the observed changes in outcomes can we attribute to the Campaign?

The balance of this response explains some of our approaches to answering each of these questions.

1. Measuring exposure to the Campaign

The Campaign will publish information about how much media time it has purchased. More specifically, for each audience of youth or parents, information will be available on the proportion that would have been in the audience for each ad, and all ads. Also, how many times in a given week would each ad, and all ads, have been seen. These are called reach and frequency and are summarized as gross ratings points, or GRPs. Our task with regard to exposure is to measure the extent to which that placement of the ads and other Campaign communication efforts broke through into the mind of the audience – that is, are audiences aware of the Campaign and is awareness increasing over time? Can target audiences recall the ONDCP sponsored ads and other messages that were shown? We propose to assess audience awareness in two ways:

- We ask a set of general questions about advertising recall for each channel: radio and television, print, movies, outdoor advertising, and internet. We ask whether and how often each respondent recalls seeing anti-drug messages from each source.[1] This

[1] A typical question is:

D10. In recent months, about how often have you seen such anti-drug ads on TV, or heard them on the radio?

Not at all	1
Less than 1 time a month	2
1 to 3 times a month	3
1 to 3 times a week	4
Daily or almost daily	5
More than 1 time a day	6

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duplicates the format of the question asked on other surveys, although because we ask specifically about a variety of media, we will have a somewhat elaborated view across the channels than is available from other surveys which ask only about radio and television. But these measures may be seen as a little soft. They ask respondents to summarize a lot of viewing or listening or reading experience and express it in a single number. These measures may be reasonably interpreted as providing a general sense of level of exposure, rather than a precise measure of recent exposure.

- To improve the precision of our exposure measurement, we have added a second major approach to exposure measurement – the recall of specific ads. Thus far, radio and television advertising represent the largest part of the advertising effort. We focus on those channels for this next type of measure. Through the use of Westat's audio-visual computer self-interview system (ACASI), we are able to show each respondent Campaign television and radio ads at full length on a laptop computer brought to the respondent's home by a member of Westat's field interviewing work force. The ads shown are all ads that have been broadcast nationally in the previous two months, according to the Campaign. For each respondent, we actually show a subsample of the Campaign's recent and ongoing ads (four television and three radio). Ad samples for African-American and bilingual (English-Spanish) respondents are also selected to permit separate evaluations of ads targeted towards these special populations. We ask each respondent to tell us whether they have ever seen the ad, how often they've seen the ad recently, and how they had evaluated the ad[3].

---

[3] D17a. Now we will show you some ads that might or might not have been playing on television around here. Have you ever seen or heard this ad? (PLAY TV AD.)

Yes	1	
No	2	(D18a)
REFUSED		(D18a)
DON'T KNOW		(D18a)

D17b. In recent months, how many times have you seen or heard this ad?

Not at all	1	(D18a)
Once	2	
2 to 4 times	3	
5 to 10 times	4	
More than 10 times	5	

D17c. Please indicate how much you disagree or agree with the following statements about this ad:

		Strongly disagree	Dis-agree	Neither agree nor dis-agree	Agree	Strongly agree
a.	This ad got my attention	1	2	3	4	5
b.	This ad was convincing	1	2	3	4	5
c.	This ad exaggerated the problem	1	2	3	4	5
d.	This ad said something important to me	1	2	3	4	5

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We know that respondents might tell us that they have seen an ad even though they had not because they forgot or because they want to be agreeable. If we took all claims at face value we might overestimate exposure. Therefore, we also ask each respondent whether he or she has seen an ad that had never been broadcast. This gives us a benchmark to assess true exposure.

In addition, the Evaluation team recognizes that while the Campaign is spending much of its budget buying media time, it also seeks to enhance the extent to which anti-drug communication is in the air, more generally. It is working with national and local organizations; it is working with corporate partners; it is making efforts to disseminate information through the mass media generally through press releases and other public relations technology. To try and capture the extent to which target audiences are aware of these efforts, we have a series of measures which will detect change in these more general aspects of the public communication environment. We ask about frequency of exposure to anti-drug stories in a variety of media channels; we ask about the extent to which respondents have heard public discussion of several drug issues. We ask about the amount of talk within families and among friends about drug issues. For all of these measures, we will see whether the intensity of campaign efforts are translating into changes in the perceived public communication environment about drugs.

2. Measuring changes in attitudes and behaviors

The second evaluation question we address is whether observed outcomes are moving in the right direction. We have developed models based on existing theories of health behavior change and of communication effects. These suggest how the Campaign might work, if it were successful, and have determined what measures are incorporated into the survey instruments. The outcomes we are measuring capture quite a range of objectives for this campaign:

- **Behavior.** We measure behavior of youth: trial and regular use of marijuana, and of inhalants, primarily, with some additional measurement of alcohol and tobacco use. We also measure the behaviors of parents – particularly parent-child discussions about drug use and parent monitoring of and engagement with their children's lives. We also measure past behavior, and intentions to engage in these behaviors in the near future.

- **Attitudes and beliefs.** We are measuring the beliefs and attitudes that research has shown to be closely related to these behaviors. For example, with regard to youth drug use, we are measuring beliefs about the health consequences, the mental functioning consequences, and the performance consequences of drug use.

- **Social pressures.** We are measuring the perceived social pressures to engage in these behaviors, for example to use or not use drugs – what peers are doing, what confidence respondents have in their ability to resist drug use, what parents and friends would say about drug use.

Our first round of data collection will measure these beliefs and behaviors near the start of Phase III of the Campaign, and investigate how they relate to each other. In particular, we want to determine the extent to which the beliefs and intentions are substantially related to behavior, fitting with prior expectations based on the models of the process through which the Campaign is to work. Initially, we will measure simultaneous associations of beliefs and intentions with behavior. In subsequent rounds, we will measure change in these outcomes, lagged associations

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of prior attitudes and intentions with current behavior, and associations of attitudes, intention, and behaviors with exposure to the Media Campaign.

3. Attributing observed changes in attitudes and behavior to the Campaign

This is the most difficult task confronting the Evaluation Team - making a clear case for or against the influence of exposure to the Campaign on observed attitudes, intentions, and behaviors, both overall, and for particular sub-populations of interest. Our approach is outlined below:

- Starting with Wave 2, we will report about the association of exposure and outcomes. We will examine whether, for example, the youth who report heavy exposure to campaign messages are more likely to have desirable beliefs about the negative physical consequences of marijuana than do youth who report less exposure. We will use a sophisticated statistical technique called "propensity scoring" to reduce the risk that observed differences are the result of the influence of confounding variables rather than the result of the effects of exposure on outcomes. These analyses will first appear in our second semi-annual report scheduled for delivery to NIDA in March 2001.

- We also intend to examine whether the evidence for effects differs depending on the characteristics of the youth or his/her parents. Do effects differ depending on gender, or ethnicity, or parent's economic background? Do they differ depending on the child's personality characteristics (e.g., a high sensation seeker or not), depending on the behaviors of peers in the youth's social network, or depending on the youth's interaction with his/her parents in general or about drug use issues in particular? Do effects vary depending on the youth's contact with other anti-drug institutions such as schools, out-of-school programs, religious institutions or general media exposure?

- Starting with Wave 4, we will begin to supplement these cross-sectional causal analyses with longitudinal causal analyses. As explained is some detail in our written testimony of July 11th, our NSPY design has us following the same national sample of youth and their parents for three or four years. Therefore, we are able to examine whether a young person who reported high versus low exposure on the first, second or third Wave, progressed at a different rate of drug-related beliefs and practices in subsequent Waves. Compared to the relatively more simple cross-sectional analysis, this longitudinal analysis capability will allow us to improve our ability to reject threats to causal claims related to confounding variables. In addition, it will permit us to respond to concerns about reversed causal direction (that the cross-sectional association between exposure and beliefs is the result of beliefs affecting recall of exposure rather than exposure affecting beliefs.) These analyses will commence once we have sufficient follow-up data and will make their initial appearance in our fourth semi-annual report scheduled for delivery to NIDA in March 2002.

In addition, we recognize that some of the effects of the Campaign will be felt not just among individuals but among communities, more broadly. If there is sufficient variation in exposure across communities, we will be able to repeat some of these analyses at the level of the community, to see whether communities that have a relatively high versus low level of exposure to anti-drug messages show different patterns of progression on the outcome measures.

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Q4. Given a measurable change in drug use in America, how will the evaluators be able to eliminate the dozens of possible variables in order to attribute the likely cause of the drug use trend to the Campaign?

As noted in my response to Q6 below, any change in drug prevalence rates among youth is likely to be a function of multiple causes besides the campaign. These causes may also interact in dynamic ways both with each other and the Campaign to affect drug use attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, the Evaluation Team will be examining the potential influence of a wide variety of sources including characteristics of the person, parent-child dynamics, social and peer pressures, and a number of environmental factors. To this end, we have included many variables in the questionnaires for the study. The variables were selected with careful forethought. More specifically, we developed several models based on existing theories of adolescent drug use, of health behavior change, adolescent development, and of communication effects. These models are summarized in the Evaluation Team's written testimony of July 11th and are described in greater detail in Chapter 3 of our forthcoming report, *Historical Trends in Drug Use and the Design of the Phase III Evaluation*. These models then guided the selection of measures included in the survey instruments.

Our fundamental approach will be to look for evidence that either for individuals or for communities, higher exposure to the Media Campaign is associated with desirable beliefs, outcomes and behaviors, while taking advantage of a variety of sophisticated statistical procedures to make it less likely that the observed association is the result of still other variables. We will use each of the following approaches to deal with the concern that other causes, besides the Campaign, can account for changes in drug use attitudes and behavior:

- We will use a variety of fully elaborated statistical models to account for the possible influence of confounder variables. In particular we intend to exploit an approach called propensity scoring (Rosenbaum and Rubin) and related techniques that permit efficient estimates of the effects of an independent variable on an outcome, controlling for specified confounder variables.

- We will use the longitudinal data from individual respondents to examine whether prior exposure to Campaign messages predicts changes in drug beliefs and behavior, while controlling for prior levels of that belief or behavior. This will enable us to increase our confidence that the Campaign caused change in belief or behavior and not simply that respondents sympathetic to the Campaign's messages are more likely to recall exposure to its ads.

- In a parallel way we intend to examine longitudinal effects at the level of the 90 separate communities in which our surveys will be undertaken. It is possible that influence could be shared at the community level rather than just affecting individuals in isolation. These community level analyses will permit us to see whether communities with early heavier exposure to the Campaign in all of its aspects progress at a different rate than less heavily exposed communities, controlling for other community characteristics.

- The models we developed describe a variety of direct and indirect paths Campaign influence could follow to affect outcomes of interest. They suggest how the Campaign might work, if it is successful. Accordingly, because the models'

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theoretical causal pathways suggested the types of variables to be incorporated into the survey instruments, one additional approach to attributing causation to the Campaign would be to show that the proposed models of effect can explain the observed changes in outcomes of interest. Through path modeling and other parallel approaches, we will be able to show whether the hypothesized models of effect can explain any coincidence between exposure to the Campaign and observed changes in outcomes. To the extent the predicted associations are verified, such that much of the association between exposure and outcomes can be explained by the proposed models, we will have a reasonable basis for attributing observed change in drug use attitude and behavior trends to the Campaign.

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Q5. Once the data is gathered, how long will it take to analyze the data and establish a baseline?

The first semi-annual report will present findings from the baseline wave of data collection. The report will be delivered to NIDA around the end of August.

Q6. We are familiar with other government funded organizations which track illegal drug use in America, such as the Monitoring the Future Survey at the University of Michigan, the National Household Survey, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, etc. Will the findings of each of these surveys be incorporated into the Phase III evaluation?

Information collected by two existing government-funded data collection systems will be incorporated into the Phase III Evaluation. They are the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse (NHSDA) and the Monitoring the Future (MTF) Survey. These surveys' very large sample sizes permit the computation of certain drug use attitude and behavior estimates with considerably greater precision than will be possible through NSPY with its smaller sample. Therefore, the Evaluation will use data from these surveys as the primary measure of change in drug use rates.

However, while these existing surveys are important to our evaluation of ONDCP's Campaign, their primary purpose is to track usage rates. Therefore, they contain few measures of media exposure and lack most of the variables needed to determine whether observed changes are due to Campaign influence or to other causes (e.g., confounding variables). It was principally to measure exposure and the many potential confounding variables across time that the Westat/Annenberg evaluation team developed the NSPY survey. It is only with these NSPY data that we will be in position to make reasonable claims regarding the Media Campaign's contribution observed changes in substance use attitudes, beliefs, intentions, and behaviors.

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LETTER-TO-THE -EDITOR

Joseph V.A. Partansky, M.B.A.
Former (1995-98) Member of the Contra Costa County Substance Abuse Advisory Board (SAAB); Behavioral Science Research Analyst in the Alcohol Program of the County of Los Angeles Dept. of Health Services; Chair, Research Section of Alcohol and Drug Problems Association (ADPA) of No. Amer.; Consultant to ABC, CBS and NBC Standards and Practices units and Volunteer Technical Assistance Provider to the Writers Guild of America (Western), which was sponsored by the Alcohol Information Media Services (AIMS) Foundation (1981-85)
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TEXT

Suggested Title: "More About Commerce Than Integrity?"

Yet another question about " the commercial roots of goodness" has surfaced, besides the U.S. criminal justice system payment of informants and use of civil asset forfeiture. Now it appears the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) is crediting the six television networks with millions of dollars for "War on Drugs Correct" prime time, entertainment TV programs (see Contra Costa Times, Jan. 14, 2000 reprint of Washington Post's article: "Anti-drug plots got TV a deal"). Should the TV networks be given financial incentives by the Federal Government or should the TV networks be asking for money for "War On Drugs Correct" entertainment programming?

(Before proceeding I must disclose that from 1981 to 1985 I was in contact with the TV networks' standards and practice offices and was then a volunteer, free consultant to members of the

Writers Guild of America, West, regarding alcohol use and abuse. Each of the Guild's newsletters carried my home telephone number for technical assistance. The hotline was sponsored by the AIMS Foundation, whose principals had had five years of federal contracts to assess 600 hours of prime time television portrayals of the drug, alcohol.)

Undisclosed and "profitable" government-media collaboration further under cut citizen trust in both this administration's seeking peace for its "war on drugs and people" and the private sector media. For those who know how the creation of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America has "saved" 100's of millions of dollars of TV beer and wine ad revenue, the current breach of ethics, because of questionable collaboration, goes both ways.

I urge the establishment of a national commission to review "the war on drugs," prescription and over-the-counter medicine and food supplement advertising and educational polices.

P.S.
The author, Joseph V.A. Partansky, can be contacted at the above address and telephone number or his e-mail:
jpartans@hotcoco.infi.net (January 18, 2000)

6A—Contra Costa Times Tuesday, March 14, 1995

CONTRA COSTA

Class tells how to get official records

By CATHERINE HEDGECOCK
Staff writer

PLEASANT HILL — A group of students is learning how to locate government documents during a Saturday morning class at the Pleasant Hill Adult Center.

Joe Partansky of Concord, a public health specialist and former research analyst for the Los Angeles County Department of Health Services, is teaching the four-session class, Accessing All Government Information. Partansky was a member of a committee that drafted an ordinance that expands access to Contra Costa County government meetings and records. The law goes into effect Thursday.

Partansky said he wants to help people who need information from the government. These could include assets forfeiture, Freedom of Information Act requests or First Amendment issues.

In addition, knowing more about how to track down government information can help people become better citizens by keeping tabs on politicians and government officials, he said.

Class participants are learning how government entities work, including city, county, state and federal agencies, international organizations and multijurisdictional agencies. The class includes a field trip to the document collection at the Pleasant Hill main library and it gives students information on locating government documents from computer on-line services.

"Upon completion of this course, participants will be able to identify and use key telephone information numbers and reference sources, will have enhanced problem-solving skills and be better able to ask the right questions of the right people," Partansky said.

The current class will have its last two sessions from 9:30 a.m. to noon Saturday and March 25. Late registration is available. Another class will begin in May. Cost is $45 for the four-session class. Further information and registration are available from Mt. Diablo Adult Education at 685-7340.

DARREN STARR/Times

JOE PARTANSKY talks with a student about finding government documents during a class in Pleasant Hill.

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